



The New Right in Iran

By FRED HALLIDAY

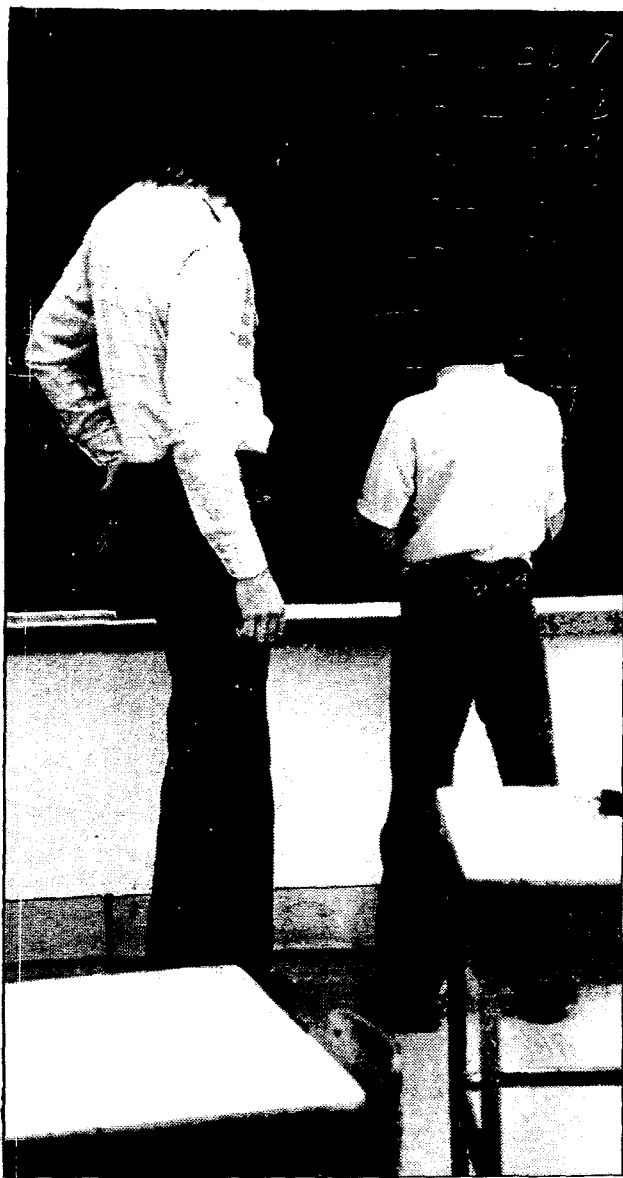
The Toughest Beat: Police Women in Detroit

By GEORGIA CHRISTGAU



Steve Kagan

THE INSIDE STORY



Karen Soyles Fitch

Another setback for Boston schools

By Connie Paige

BOSTON

Boston has a terrible legacy. Racism, passed along from year to year by local politicians, remains firmly part of the city's political and economic life. So, even a full five years after court-ordered desegregation, it came as but a slight surprise recently when the heritage emerged again.

Just two weeks before the opening of school, on Aug. 21, the school committee fired Superintendent Robert Wood. In the first two years of a four-year term, Wood had been held out as proof that the city had finally catapulted itself out of the past. His ouster abruptly indicated otherwise.

Robert Wood is a classic perennial, a man whose political fortunes blossom whenever the political winds blow liberal. Forever Democrat, he began a government career as budget officer to Harry Truman, sat out the Eisenhower years at Harvard and MIT and returned to Washington during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, his last presidential appointment as undersecretary at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In this post, he served—significantly—under the country's first black cabinet member, Robert Weaver. At HUD, Wood helped develop the Model Cities program and the 1968 Housing Act, the nation's first attempt at dealing with the problems of inner-city housing. Wood claims to have turned down a job with the Carter administration, instead working at various academic positions.

At the time of Wood's hiring, Boston's school system was still smarting from the 1974 desegregation order. But the first three years of busing had brought about perceptible change. Except for an ever smaller, if violently outspoken, minority of stalwarts, race re-

lations were beginning to improve. Certainly every year's school opening did bring some scuffles. Occasional racially motivated attacks and even murders persisted, and politicians, for the most part, provided little leadership. Still, in 1977, voters elected to the school committee a majority committed to working with the court rather than against it. This was the committee that the following year chose Robert Wood.

The price of stature.

The appointment was a self-conscious effort to bring in someone of national stature, and for that there was a price. Wood took the job on the condition that he have complete management control over the School Department. He insisted on the power to reset educational priorities, accept busing and, importantly, eliminate patronage. He received the solemn promise of none other than then-school committee chairman David Finnegan, himself a candidate for mayor and brother to the powerful head of the state legislature's Ways and Means Committee. The Finnegan stamp of approval all but assured that Wood would have his way. And, at first, he did.

Stanching the patronage system was Wood's first challenge, and was intimately tied to the success or failure of desegregation. In the past, individual school committee members had controlled hiring for whole departments in the schools, which set up a kind of chicken-and-egg dilemma. The initial committee choices were, quite naturally, white—part of an effort to create a political base. Reaching their own critical mass, these beneficiaries of school committee largesse were able to demand continued hiring of their own kind. This specialized electorate could make or break the maverick committee member. By the same token, the responsive member attained enviable political standing. Even the mayor had to recognize the clout of the school committee, and helped extend their patronage far beyond the schools. It was no wonder, then, that the administration and staff of the schools—as of most of Boston government—was lily-white and remote from blacks.

Patronage also meant that employees were not always the best qualified for their jobs, and it showed. When Wood took over, the schools were a mess, the buildings crumbling, the teachers demoralized and the students scoring way below the national average.

Wood's approach to all this was to establish his own base, and he went about it on several different fronts. To insure unflinching loyalty from within, he brought in his own people and gave them ultimate say over the old guard. To maintain the good will of the school

members their own, although not nearly on the scale of the old guard, he sought fealty from parents of school children, carefully appealing with equivalent urgency to two distinct groups: the upper-middle-class "gentry" who were just starting to repopulate the city, and the working-class whites who, in response to busing, had placed their children in parochial schools.

It was a brilliant strategy, with one crucial flaw. The superintendent implied by benign neglect in his wooing of parents that he cared little about the needs of people of color. This subtle racism cost him in the end. When the chips were down, school committee members hadn't enough patronage to be beholden to Wood; upper-middle-class parents weren't numerous enough to count; working-class whites were still suspicious of the superintendent; and he had failed to secure the confidence of his most natural constituency, blacks

and the city's burgeoning Hispanic population.

Wood refers to himself as an "urbanist" with concerns that go beyond education. "The schools are the future of the city," he likes to explain. "As the schools go, so goes the city." In keeping with his philosophy, he was attempting to modernize and standardize the curriculum, stabilize school assignments and update buildings in a way that corresponded to modern urban life. He saw himself very much as part of Boston's revitalization, and others did too. How much he might have accomplished—and he was still very far from fulfilling the majority of his goals—is an open question. What was becoming obvious, however, was his ability to remain aloof from the narrow, parochial interests that had at one time governed educational policy. Before his ouster, he seemed at least to have convinced just about everyone that his was the best way, but the progress was illusory.

The issue that ultimately brought him down was patronage, although, as always, racism was the backdrop. This fall was to mark the long-heralded opening of a new vocational high school that eventually will replace not only the old one, but also all the individual vocational programs at high schools around the city. Vocational education in Boston has traditionally been one of the school committee's personal patronage areas, as well as the way to insure the installment of white students after graduation in the city's white trade unions. Wood had his own candidate picked out for the job, but the new chairman of the school committee, John McDonough, had one, too. In the palmy days of his appointment, Wood would have been able to sway McDonough. But in the interim, voters in the 1979 election had brought back an anti-busing majority anxious to renew the resistance of the past. "The new committee," as Wood put it after the firing, "was the old politics." The committee exercised its one remaining prerogative under the deal with Wood—the ability to remove him—and the superintendent and his reforms were unceremoniously dumped. His replacement was an insider who, as one parent put it, "has been running for this job his whole professional life."

The timing couldn't have been worse. Boston was still reeling from the July murder of a black teenager by a white police officer. The mayor, suddenly budget-minded, was threatening to slash \$20 million from the schools. The teachers union, concerned about over-large classrooms and impending layoffs, was about to go on strike. Racism, renewed overnight, was reappearing in the political rhetoric. The comment of Elvira "Pixie" Palladino—one of the early leaders of the anti-busing movement—was typical. "I'm tired of every black," Palladino wrote in the local anti-busing newspaper, "who owns a three-piece suit, thinking that suit entitles him to a job. It doesn't."

So far, the schools have remained calm, but the future is anybody's guess. The tragedy is that Wood's firing might have been prevented. At one time, Boston had an organized progressive voting block, partially taken from the black community. Until recently, these voters had been unable to break the hegemony of the old guard school committee. The election of the 1977 majority signaled a new era in Boston politics. But voters are an apathetic bunch and, as in all things political these days, neoconservative fervor won out two years later. Now, with the voters' message in mind, Boston politicians are going to be loathe to take risks. It remains here, as elsewhere, for progressives to realign and recapture their losses.

Connie Paige is a Boston writer.

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IN THESE TIMES

Rep. Holtzman won by a surprising 70,000-vote margin.



Andrew Popper

A maverick beats a millionaire

By Joe Conason

NEW YORK

AT A VICTORY PARTY THE night she won the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate, Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman expanded a bit on remarks made earlier before the TV cameras. Hers was a victory, she said, "for a new, open political process." As her friends and campaign workers cheered, she added, "Every establishment was against us: the mayor, the governor, and almost every newspaper with very few exceptions. But we won, and we sent a message to the rest of the country tonight: liberal politics, progressive politics, are not dead."

Despite a year-long effort by New York's political, corporate and media leaders to anoint Bess Myerson the Democratic nominee against incumbent Republican Jacob Javits, Holtzman had indeed routed them, beating Myerson by nearly 70,000 votes. Former mayor John Lindsay and Queens district attorney John Santucci trailed far behind, as they had throughout the campaign.

There could hardly have been a deeper contrast between the women candidates and their campaigns, both in content and style. Holtzman, a defiant liberal and maverick, has done little to endear herself to any establishment; her blunt independence quickly became an issue used against her by those who said that New York needed someone who could "make deals" in the Senate. She lives a spartan life and works herself and her staff 70 hours a week. She's one of the most progressive members of the House, unwilling to compromise on principle, but with a competence few liberals display. Known nationally for her battles against Richard Nixon and for the Equal Rights Amendment, Holtzman was able to build a grass-roots network of highly partisan supporters and workers.

Myerson, a former Miss America and consumer affairs commissioner under

Lindsay, is an ex-liberal who, like her friends Ed Koch and Pat Moynihan, turned neo-conservative in recent years. As she turned away from consumer advocacy to become a highly paid "consultant" to big business, she also quit the peace movement to found the ultra-hawkish Committee on the Present Danger.

With the support of Moynihan, Koch, governor Hugh Carey and nearly all the

before primary day, Myerson flooded the airwaves with ads stressing her similarity to Moynihan on issues affecting New York state; the senator's influence on her campaign tactics and issues was so pervasive that one local columnist referred to Myerson as "Moynihan in a dress." Media coverage of Myerson's bid focused on her friendships with the powerful, her record during the Lindsay

Neo-conservative Democrats influenced the Myerson campaign so much that she was dubbed "Moynihan in a skirt."

local Democratic bosses, along with the editors of the *New York Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *New York Post*, her nomination began to seem almost inevitable. After media consultant David Garth took her on as a client, the conventional wisdom was that her opponents didn't stand a chance. In addition to her array of big supporters, Myerson appeared to have another advantage—she's a millionaire. By primary day she had loaned her own campaign \$600,000 to buy television time and to pay Garth; in an early debate she made it clear that she was willing to buy the election if necessary by calling the \$1,000 federal campaign contribution limit "unfair."

Personal attacks.

As soon as the campaign began last spring, Myerson and Holtzman began to attack one another on a personal basis. Following the advice of neo-conservative ideologues like Moynihan, Myerson floated charges that Holtzman was soft on defense and therefore no friend of Israel—a serious accusation in a state where Jewish voters turn out heavily for primary elections. Until the final week

administration as a consumer advocate, and her supposedly charming personality, while glossing over or ignoring her business activities since leaving City Hall. There was good reason for this gap since her chief employers have been Citibank, Bristol-Meyers and Warner Communications, and there is little evidence that she has done anything significant to make these companies more sensitive to consumer needs. Only the weekly *Village Voice*—the only newspaper to endorse Holtzman—examined Myerson's recent career in depth.

Holtzman, whose personality can be abrasive, was subjected to ruthless scrutiny by the same reporters who treated Myerson with kid gloves. "Cold" and "frozen" became the most frequently used adjectives in profiles of her, just as her liberalism was judged "out of step" with current political realities. Frustrated by the media's attacks on her and its refusal to spotlight Myerson's business deals, Holtzman and her media man, Robert Squier, finally took to the airwaves with commercials attacking Myerson.

One radio ad explained how Myerson

fronted for Citibank while serving as chair of a nonprofit debt-counseling service that was charged with deception by the city's consumer agency. A TV ad hit Myerson for advocating decontrol of oil prices while she herself owned \$250,000 in oil company stocks.

Holtzman carried these attacks into consumer forums and debates all over the state, finally provoking Myerson—against the advice of a Garth aide—to counterattack. In a last-minute TV spot whose charges were echoed by the *News* and *Post* in their Myerson endorsements, Holtzman was accused of never voting for a single defense appropriation. Myerson called Holtzman "irrational" on the defense issue, implying that neither the U.S. nor Israel would have armies if Holtzman prevailed. In the Cold War atmosphere revived by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, many observers felt that this would be a mortal blow to Holtzman. She answered the charge by citing her own record of support for Israel, saying that she was against Pentagon waste, and insisting that "I yield to no one in my patriotism toward this country."

In some ways Holtzman was lucky. Her "patriotism" dominated the front page of the *Times* the day before the primary, and the *Times* itself, which had been expected to endorse Myerson, made no endorsement in the Democratic primary. (It endorsed Jacob Javits instead, but he lost to an ultra-conservative Long Island official named Alfonse D'Amato in the Republican primary. Javits will be on the Liberal line in November.) And Holtzman supporters were probably encouraged by a last-minute poll showing her ahead by several points.

But she won big by projecting her own competence and integrity while damaging Myerson's credibility. Though she has a tough fight ahead in November, for New York Democrats her primary win was a convincing sign that the right wing doesn't dominate their party—yet.

Joe Conason is a staff writer for the *Village Voice*.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The debate at home on Palestine rights

By Peter Kornbluh

WASHINGTON

THE PHILIPPINES, SOUTH KOREA, El Salvador and, until the revolution, Iran are all noted examples of Jimmy Carter's transparent human rights policy. Less frequently cited, though no less blatant an example, is the condition of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. The continuing human rights violations by one of the U.S.' closest allies and its largest aid recipient has remained largely unnoticed or ignored by the American public.

The third annual conference of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) was held in Washington, D.C., last week in order to focus attention in the U.S. on the plight of the Palestinians and the ramifications for world peace if Palestinian representatives continue to be excluded from the Middle East negotiations. The conference drew more than 200 people from a variety of groups ranging from the Black Political Assembly to the International Indian Treaty Council. Speakers included prominent black leaders, Palestinian spokesmen and Arab-Americans active in the campaign to place the Palestinian cause in the public eye.

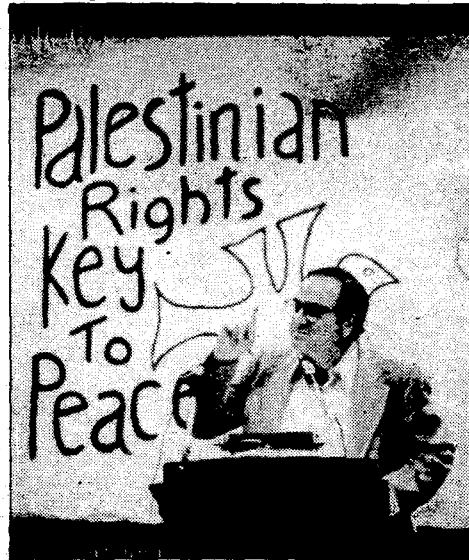
That campaign, explains Jim Zogby, who along with Detroit lawyer Abdeen Jabara founded the PHRC three years ago, attempts "to humanize the conception of the Palestinian that exists in the West, to educate Americans to the reality that these people are there and demand human rights and to make pos-

sible the development of a real peace movement that recognizes the full status of the Palestinians as a people." A key objective of the movement, according to Zogby, is to counter a pervasive racism in this country that leads even the progressive left to discount the validity of Palestinian appeals for human justice, while acknowledging similar appeals by Chileans, Argentines, Zairians or South Africans. Zogby and others at the conference are confident that a "new American consensus" can be formed to alter the inflexible political bias toward Israel in this country.

The conference began on the theme of U.S. complicity in the ongoing violations of Palestinian human rights and the linkage between peace in the Middle East and a sovereign Palestine. In the opening address, D.C. Representative Walter Fauntroy stated, "There will be no peace in Israel until the Palestinians are granted their rights to peace and a homeland." The Camp David peace accords were severely criticized during the conference as "obstacles" rather than vehicles for peace, as President Carter has claimed.

"Jimmy Carter majored in hypocrisy in college," former senator James Abourezk told a laughing audience. Abourezk, who recently formed the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee to combat slander and discrimination against Arabs and Arab-Americans, was the first elected U.S. official to introduce legislation prohibiting U.S. assistance to governments committing gross violations of human rights. To support his point about Carter's human rights policy, Abourezk asked, "When

we see the brutality perpetrated by the Israeli occupiers upon the Palestinian occupied, what do we get from the U.S. government? We get silence and funding for Israel. And what happens when we see that Palestinians are tortured by Israelis? We get more silence and more funding."



Former senator James Abourezk

Abridgement of the right to travel kept two West Bank residents from attending the conference.

The Israeli violation of one of the most basic of human rights—the right to travel—was dramatically illustrated by the absence of two Palestinians who were expected to address the conference. Sameha Khalil, leader of a West Bank civic organization, was denied an exit visa to come to Washington by the Israeli military governor of her region. George Hazboun, the deputy mayor of

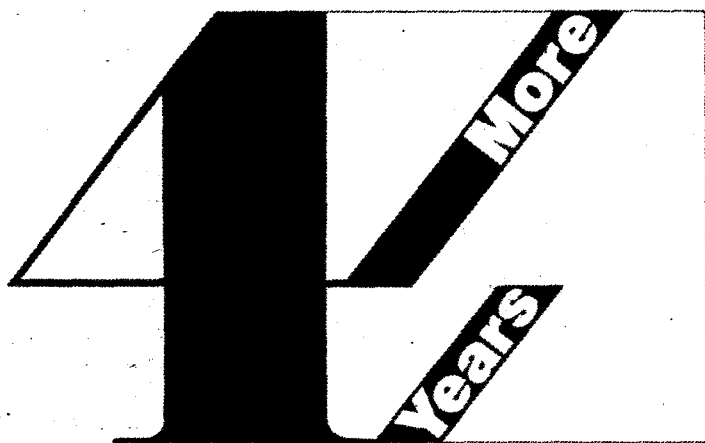
Bethlehem, was stopped by occupation authorities as he attempted to leave the West Bank the day before the conference for travel to the U.S.

Other violations of human rights highlighted at the conference included the expulsion of Palestinian mayors from the West Bank, the bulldozing of thousands of Arab homes to make way for Jewish settlements, restrictions of academic freedom at Palestinian universities and the forced exile of thousands of Arabs. Tawfiq Zayyad, the mayor of Nazareth and one of three Arabs in the Israeli Knesset, charged that Israel has plans to expel up to 800,000 Arabs from Israel and occupied territories in the future. Hasan Abdul Rahman, the deputy permanent observer to the UN for the PLO, said that by all international standards the Israeli "occupation is illegal...therefore, resistance to occupation can only be considered legal." On a diplomatic level, he pointed out, Israel was fast becoming internationally isolated on this issue, and along with it the U.S.

Black spokesmen at the conference such as Rep. John Conyers (D-Mi.) cited a number of parallels between the civil rights movement and the Palestinian cause. Rev. Ben Chavis, the last of the Wilmington Ten to be released from prison, quoted Martin Luther King: "An injustice anywhere is an injustice everywhere."

Chavis, considered the most famous political prisoner in the U.S. until his parole eight months ago, is also honorary chairman of the defense campaign for a Palestinian political prisoner in this country, Ziad Abu Eain. Held without bail for almost a year in a Chicago jail pending an Israeli petition to extradite him on highly questionable charges, Ziad's case is being pursued by the PHRC as one of six campaigns in a program of action for the coming year. Other points include an emergency campaign to defend the Palestinian mayors, continued efforts to stop U.S. aid to Israeli settlements, and a campaign to build a Middle East Peace Action Coalition.

Peter Kornbluh is on the staff of the Institute for Policy Studies.



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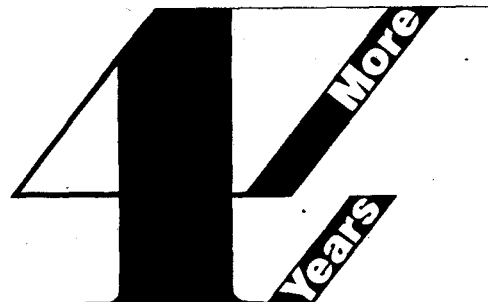
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**Join the
Celebration**

By David Moberg

CINCINNATI

TWO YEARS AGO MACHINIST union president William Winpisinger had just finished blasting big business and "the corporate state" in a talk to a staff conference. A member of the union's executive council pulled aside one of Winpisinger's top aides, Dick Greenwood, and said, "You have just witnessed the transformation of a very conservative union into a liberal union." "Wimpy," as the 56-year-old president is known to everyone, has continued to push that transformation throughout his three and a half years in office.

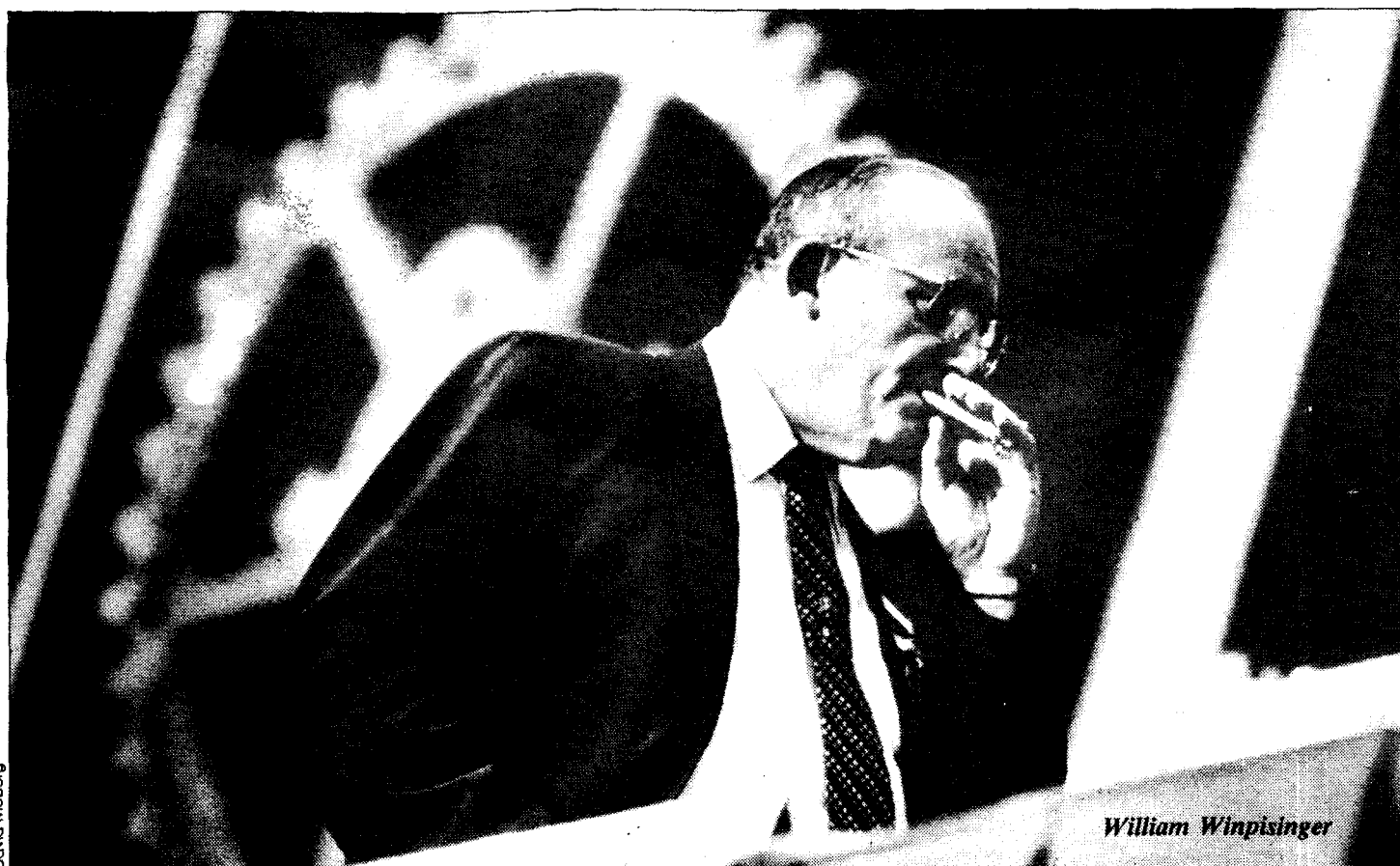
After Winpisinger's opening address to this year's Grand Lodge (International Union) Convention the day after Labor Day, Greenwood remarked, "I didn't talk to the executive council member this time, but he might have said, 'You have seen the transformation of a liberal union into a democratic socialist organization.'"

Greenwood overstated the case, but Winpisinger's speech may have been the most openly socialist address by a major American union president to the members in over half a century. True, he defended a "democratic socialism" in terms of the policies and successes of social democratic countries such as Sweden, West Germany or the Netherlands, where capitalist economics have been tempered somewhat by greater social control, but even advocacy of such moderate programs—seen from a global political perspective—clearly puts Winpisinger on the left edge of mainstream American politics.

But it was Winpisinger's decision to use phrases such as "We have to make it clear we want democratic socialism for ourselves" that took him beyond the advocacy of programs supported by many others on the left of the labor movement. This was a deliberate venture into ideological combat. "It's one more exercise in beating down the myth that there's something evil about the term," Winpisinger said later. "I'm not going to fall victim to the same kind of intimidation that a whole lot of other people have, where the use of that word is distorted and completely confused to the point where the people who use it don't want you to think socialist, they want you to think Communist. It's a turn-off to anyone who wants to espouse socialist ideas. These [delegates] understand... that as long as we talk about doing something democratically then there's nothing to be afraid of, because we aren't going to get anything that our own votes don't bring us.... I didn't see anybody jump up and run out of the convention hall when we talked about [democratic socialism]. It seemed to me they were rather receptive.... Our people have to learn word association like anybody else."

Winpisinger's "democratic socialist" reforms, most of which were ratified in some form by the convention, included guaranteed full employment, stringent regulation of plant shutdowns, passage of the Corporate Democracy Act (to increase corporate accountability and worker/public control), centralized economic planning, full social services including a national health service, government control of oil imports and prices and—if necessary—socialization of the big oil companies, a shorter work week, protection of workers against displacement by new computer technology and insistence on acceptance of a broad package of pro-labor programs as an essential part of any government aid to business for "reindustrialization." Much of it would be commonly advocated by the bulk of the labor movement but without the socialist label.

But Winpisinger's sharpest break with most of the U.S. labor movement comes on issues of the military and nuclear power. Both are very delicate issues for the Machinists, since more than 180,000 of their 974,000 members are in the aerospace industry, and a large fraction of workers in the nuclear energy industry are also Machinists. Winpisinger came out strongly for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and SALT II treaty. He was also against registration and the draft, against the MX missile (as he had



LABOR

Machinists talk socialism

been against the B-1 bomber in the past) and against nuclear power. Although strongly pro-solar, Winpisinger favors the highly questionable solar-power satellite technology. That—as well as such projects as expanded mass transit—is part of the program for economic conversion of the military plants that is essential for winning Machinist members' support.

But the union's switch on military policy may not have been as hard for many delegates to accept as the radical break in its political tradition. With only a tenth or so of the delegates voting "no" on a voice vote, the convention withheld any endorsement for president this fall. The motion came immediately after a rousing reception for Senator Edward

Winpisinger's political program is one that much of the labor movement would endorse—without the socialist label.

Kennedy, the union's first choice, who slipped an almost parenthetical phrase of support for Jimmy Carter's re-election into a speech directed against the twin evils of the '80s—reaction (Reagan) and retreat (guess who). Winpisinger argued that the organization's integrity demanded that they not "cave in" and accept mediocrity, but he also advised delegates to "vote their conscience" in the fall. It appeared that despite the non-endorsement, most of the delegates would do as Al Taylor planned, "Hold my nose and vote Democrat." Winpisinger plans to join Democrats for Commoner-Harris, the Citizens Party ticket, but he made no effort to win union support for such an endorsement.

"That would have been counterproductive," he explained. "Getting situated the way we are now [with the non-endorsement policy] is difficult enough without exacerbating the balance of the convention any more than we have to. There's heavy support for what we did here, but there's lots of latent and some not-so-latent opposition, too, because that's a major break with tradition."

The convention also directed Winpisinger to join with other progressive and liberal groups to "determine the extent

to which grass-roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to principles of social democracy." Winpisinger says he has no plans now on what initiative, if any, he will take after the election. "If somebody comes and asks me to convene [a meeting] and I like their approach and I like who they're speaking for, I might do it myself. I wouldn't shirk from it, but I don't have any positive plans to do it."

Winpisinger's other major objectives in the coming years focus on strengthening the union itself. When he took office, dues had just been increased, and he was able to hire not only more staff but also staff sympathetic to his political aims. Now the union is out of debt. It has expanded its educational efforts. For the first time in many years, there has been a concerted organizing drive that will continue to grow, using radio, television and a new film as well as expanded personal contact from organizing committees composed of rank-and-file Machinists. In the past four years the union has grown by nearly 72,000 members, but leaders assume there is nearly unlimited potential as the union expands even more beyond its traditional skilled trade universe. Just for starters, there are 200,000 workers covered by Machinist contracts who are not yet union members.

Winpisinger also wants to push hard on merger talks with the United Auto Workers. That would produce not only the largest union in the country but also the most progressive.

A household word.

Considering how fast "Wimpy" has turned around union politics, it is remarkable that he has the support he does. Talking with rank-and-file delegates, I found nearly universal respect for Winpisinger for strengthening the union and making it a household word, for speaking his mind forcefully, for bringing provocative and well-reasoned arguments to the members and for making the union exciting.

Even in the South, where one might expect resistance, Winpisinger gets support. Al Taylor, secretary-treasurer of a Meridian, Miss., Lockheed local, says, "I like Winpisinger. He's a man with guts. I'm a conservative. Just so many things are wrong you can't change everything at once, but I like the way Wimpy pushes things. It takes somebody to do it." As in other locals, Taylor found the stirrings in the top ranks of the union carried over to local organizing and general union activism: "For a long time we were all union, but we were just there. We're more active now." Paul Bruce, president of a railroad mechanics local

in Dolton, Ill., said, "I've seen a lot more young people come to meetings. They hear him talk. They like his ideas. They want to become involved in the union."

Winpisinger's performance on bread-and-butter unionism (the members, generally not in the economically hardest-hit industries, have won wage increases roughly 2 percent above the national average for unionized workers) and his straightforward, tough-talking style bring lots of workers along even as they sort out doubts. John Smith, 28, a committeeman at an Allis-Chalmers plant that makes turbines for nuclear reactors, has been won over to oppose nuclear power. "It's our jobs, our livelihoods," he says, "but there are safer ways than nuclear." And a man like William Martin, a registered Republican and a local union official from Louisville, Ky., with his own real estate business, might balk at Winpisinger's attacks on business, but he agrees that American workers need national health insurance and "that the oil companies ought to be nationalized—and all the utilities, and the phone company."

Despite the efforts to give socialism new meanings for IAM members, Winpisinger has a lot of prior miseducation to fight. "Socialism is welfare," black aerospace worker John Abson said, dissenting from Winpisinger's politics. But Chuck Rippe, 48, an aerospace worker, likes Wimpy's message. "Why should we taxpayers give welfare to the big corporations? People like Winpisinger are necessary, especially going into the '80s, with all the economic, environmental and other problems."

But Winpisinger, in turn, sees a militant membership as the answer for the '80s. Evaluating his first years in turning the Machinists toward a "new tangent," Winpisinger noted two achievements. "Number one, awakened the conscience of the union membership to the fact that we're on a collision course with either economic disaster or war, and maybe both, God forbid. Secondly, the only way that we can get through that sound barrier and get on the other side is to develop militancy, which creates horsepower to take on the adversaries and fight it out. That means, of course, not succumbing to the great bullshit dialog all over the country and the world that the only way out of this dilemma is to reduce the adversary nature of labor and management. Management's running it now, management's been running it all along and if we fall into that trap they'll run it unfettered and rush us that much faster into one of those disasters. I think our people are now ready to fight for a lot of things because we're talking about it in the open, and they understand it." ■



The workers who struck British Leyland in 1979 may be permanently out of work if—as many predict—the last domestic auto company goes under.

Banks bleed British economy

By Chris Mullin

LONDON

MARGARET THATCHER'S government has now been in power for nearly 18 months. During that time the rate of inflation has doubled; unemployment has reached the highest level since the 1930s and is still climbing; and several major industries—steel, cars, textiles—now stand on the verge of total ruin.

Yet paradoxically the government is far from beaten. On the contrary, the endless chanting of simple slogans by government ministers seems to have convinced many people that there is no alternative to the present policies. This illusion is compounded by most of the popular newspapers, which day after day mindlessly echo the ministers' slogans, and by the absolute failure of the Labour opposition to make a case for any alternative policies.

Among the simplistic nostrums successfully promoted by the government are: (1) that inflation lies at the root of all Britain's problems; and (2) that inflation is caused by high wages (in fact Britain's wages are among the lowest in Western Europe) and too much public spending. From this it follows that the answer to Britain's problems lies with two basic policies: very high interest rates and a drastic cutback in public spending on health, welfare, education and housing (though not on the army and the police, which are going to be needed in due course).

The result of these policies has been to make Britain a paradise for bankers, but a disaster for everyone else, including industry. Record interest rates—Bank Rate is now 17 percent—have led to record bankruptcies, a drastic increase in unemployment and fantastic profits for British banks, which traditionally make the highest profits in the world. The government would argue that the purpose of high interest rates is to squeeze out inefficiency, but the truth is that high interest rates do not discriminate between the efficient and the inefficient. They merely make competition with overseas companies impossible. In any case, there is a widespread suspicion that the Bank of England is quietly using public funds to prop up several major industrial companies that would otherwise collapse as a result of current fiscal policies.

As far as the squeeze on public spending is concerned, the crunch has yet to come. Already government policies have forced a number of schools and hospitals to close, but much public spending is carried out by local authorities—many of them Labour controlled. Sixty percent of local authority funds come from the central government, however, and the Thatcher team is committed to progressively reducing these. Already the public housing program is grinding to a halt. The big test of government policy toward local authorities will take place

over the next six months as the exact extent of the cutback in central funds is announced.

A third, more short-term government policy also is being put in motion: a gigantic sale of public assets at prices well below market level. Profit-making sections of publicly-owned industries—for example hotels owned by British Railways—are to be auctioned off to the highest bidder. Large slices of profit-making public companies like the engineering firm Ferranti and part of British Petroleum are being sold to private investors. This, of course, has nothing to do with efficiency. It is a short-term measure designed to raise funds without having to raise taxes; at the same time, it rewards the large corporations that have generously poured funds into Conservative Party coffers.

Local authorities are also being encouraged to sell off public housing at discounts of up to 40 percent. This, too, has nothing to do with either efficiency or value for public money. It is a way of rewarding the many public housing tenants who were induced to vote Conservative in the last election on the promise of being sold their home at a less than market rate. For the old, the sick and the poor, the sales are disastrous, since they reduce the amount of public housing available.

All this is taking place against the background of a world slump. In times gone by, both Labour and Conservative governments have recognized the need to use government spending as a means of cushioning industry against the worst effects of recession. Thatcher is doing the opposite. The government has cut back aid to industry and raised interest rates (and thereby the rate of inflation) at exactly the time when manufacturing industries are weakest.

The result is a progressive collapse of manufacturing—the basis of the British economy. Goods that used to be made in Britain are now being replaced by cheaper imports pouring into the country on an unprecedented scale.

- August saw the announcement that one of Britain's biggest newsprint producers, Bowater, is closing its largest plant. Since there is no suggestion that Britain will have to go without newsprint, the shortfall will be made up by imports.

- A large part of the steel industry has already been closed down and no one doubts that, should demand for steel ever recover (and it must if Britain is ever to break out of recession), extra demand will have to be catered to by imports.

- Imports of motor cars from Europe and Japan have now reached record levels and the collapse of the only remaining British motor manufacturer, British Leyland, is widely predicted.

- The fishing industry has been virtually closed down by imports from abroad, largely as a result of Common Market terms under which Britain is obliged to share her fishing grounds with other Market countries.

The relentless increase in imports is not explained simply by the fact that

British industry is less efficient than its competitors—though in some cases that is a factor. Rather it is the result of the steep increase in the value of the pound—which makes exports more expensive and imports cheaper. When the Conservatives were elected in May 1979 the pound was worth \$2.07. Today it is worth around \$2.42. The reason for the sharp rise is the wholly artificial rise in confidence in the pound created by North Sea oil—but for the oil, Britain's balance of payments would be running a gigantic deficit. As of this year Britain is self-sufficient in oil. God only knows what will happen when Britain has to go back on the world oil market—probably by the end of the decade.

An over-valued currency may not be good for manufacturing industry, but, again, it is good for bankers. The election of this Conservative government has finally resolved—in favor of bankers—the long conflict between the interests of industrial and financial capital that lies at the heart of the "British disease."

Because London is one of the world's financial centers, British bankers have always been able to exert an influence on economic policy disproportionate to their contribution to the nation's well-being. But under this government they have won the game, set and match. Not only have banking interests succeeded in saddling Britain with a series of socially and economically disastrous policies, but they also have been provided with a chance to evacuate their capital before the whole thing blows up in their faces. One of the Conservative government's first actions was to remove exchange controls so that

Since capital will flee at the first signs of change, lifting currency controls amounts to a scorched-earth policy.



anyone can take their money out of the country at will.

This cynical move amounts to a scorched-earth policy. Already there has been a flood of capital out of the country, but for the moment this has been more than matched by an inflow of short-term capital attracted by the over-valued pound. But what happens when the oil starts to run out—or the opinion polls indicate the election of a government committed to reimposing exchange controls? There is now nothing to stop a huge evacuation of capital from the country as soon as the

bankers and their friends abroad get the slightest hint of a change in policy.

Against all this the Labour opposition has, incredibly, remained quite ineffective. The main reason is that most of Labour's parliamentary leaders are utterly discredited. When they were in government they pursued—albeit in a milder form—almost identical policies.

Labour ministers also cut public spending on health and education; they increased spending on defense; they raised interest rates; they closed down large parts of the steel industry; they sold off shares in British Petroleum. Every time a Labour spokesman—invariably, an ex-minister—rises to protest some new government policy the response is the same: "You did it, too." And to that there is no answer.

Ordinary members of the Labour Party are of course only too well aware of the shortcomings of their parliamentary leadership. And for years a battle has raged inside the party to make the parliamentary leaders accountable to the membership. That battle is about to come to a climax at the Labour Party conference in October when delegates will vote on three main proposals: that Labour members of Parliament be re-elected by their constituency party before each election; that the trade unions and the ordinary members have a say in electing the party leader; and that future election programs be drawn up by the party executive—not by the parliamentary leaders.

If it were up to party members, these reforms would have carried overwhelmingly years ago. But the voting system at the Labour Party conference is designed to give 90 percent of the votes to trade union representatives. Since many trade unions are far less democratic than the Labour Party, this effectively concentrates power in the hands of a handful of important trade union leaders.

Until now the union votes have been fairly evenly split, with a narrow majority in favor of the status quo. But in the last year one of the biggest unions, the Engineering workers (AUEW), has swung to the right and it likely will take the whole Labour Party with it.

The only area where public opinion seems to be running strongly against the government is nuclear weapons. Having spent the last 18 months telling the country that public spending must be cut, the government has had difficulty explaining its proposal to spend another five billion pounds on a new generation of nuclear weapons—particularly in view of the growing realization that in the event of nuclear war, regardless of who wins, Britain would almost certainly be devastated.

A quarter of all the resolutions on the agenda of the Labour Party conference this year call for unilateral nuclear disarmament. This is the largest number of resolutions ever received on a single issue.

But, in the end, it is the economy that will decide the fate of Mrs. Thatcher's government. So far the worst effects of her monetarist economic policy have fallen on areas like South Wales, Scotland and the North of England, which are traditional Labour strongholds.

However high the unemployment figures go, they will always affect only a minority. Inflation, which affects everyone, is now beginning to fall and will continue to do so. Already this is being presented as a triumph by the sycophantic press (conveniently omitting to mention that it was the Conservatives who doubled inflation in the first place).

If the disaster can be confined to the Labour strongholds and kept clear of the industrial Midlands (where the Conservatives hold a lot of marginal seats), at least until the next election, there is every chance that the Conservatives will win.

The big test will be the motor company, British Leyland. Leyland is Britain's biggest employer and biggest export earner; most of its factories are in the Midlands. If it goes bust—and this is in the cards—then the government will be faced with a stark choice. Either it can abandon monetarist economics and use a massive injection of public money to save the company—at the same time buying a lot of votes—or it can stick rigidly to its present course and risk being dragged down too.

MIDDLE EAST

Hardliners have the upper hand in Iran's new cabinet

By Fred Halliday

LONDON

THE CONFLICT OVER THE NEW Iranian cabinet, in which President Bani-Sadr and his team of Western-educated advisers have been pitched against the clerical forces of the Islamic Republican Party, marks a new turn of the screw in the shaping of republican Iran. It has brought to the surface more clearly than ever before the great divide between those whose ideas of an Islamic Iran are still to some degree influenced by secular ideas of politics and administration and those wedded to the more traditional concepts of Islamic policy for whom all foreign ideas are suspect.

The nomination of Premier Mohammed Ali Rajai and his choice of mainly hardline Islam militants for his cabinet indicate that, for the time being at least, the more intransigent faction has the upper hand. For some this marks a "second revolution." For others the term "counter-revolution" is more appropriate.

The new premier is a man cast in the unbending mold of the Islamic revolution and his biography typifies the forces that have shaped the new Iran. Born 46 years ago in the town of Qazvin, a provincial center northwest of Tehran and the scene of one of the bloodiest confrontations of the revolution, Rajai went into the paradigmatic profession of nationalist intellectuals, school teaching. As an opponent of the Shah he was twice imprisoned. In the period of the revolution itself he helped to set up an Islamic Teachers Association and later became minister of education. As minister he oversaw the Islamic purge of schools and universities. Curricula were changed, hundreds of lecturers in higher education lost their jobs and sexual segregation was introduced in the schools.

While President Bani-Sadr has described Rajai as a stubborn and ignorant individual, the new premier seems to enjoy the confidence of the clergy. Indeed, one of his qualifications for the job was the fact that Rajai, unlike many other Iranian political figures, has never studied abroad and knows no Western language.

So far Rajai has given little away about his program beyond saying that it will be "100 percent Islamic." After much resistance, Bani-Sadr has been forced to accept the new government, even though he insists that the new constitution gives him, as president, the right to choose the administration. But Bani-Sadr has also said that he will not take "a needle's worth" of responsibility for what the cabinet does, and he has talked of taking his fight "to the people." The president has been touring the mosques of the poorer southern parts of Tehran and has been visiting the provinces to drum up support. And he has found common cause with his old foe, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, who has warned that the new administration will be able to stay in power only through suppression. Ghotbzadeh, who seems set to lose his post as foreign minister, has suggested in an outspoken interview that the population will tolerate the hardline Islamic government only out of respect for Khomeini. "When the day comes for him to leave us," he warns, "the people will crush its oppressors."

Bani-Sadr has been using his newspaper, *Islamic Revolution*, to question many of the policies being pursued by the clerics. In one editorial he asked: "Is it true that it took only 10 hours to condemn 14 people to death? Is it true that a veritable inquisition was instigated at the university? Is it true that despite the constitutional ban on torture, this is still being practiced in Iran?" With hundreds



Women and children demonstrate in support of Khomeini in the holy city of Qom.

of people now having been executed in summary trials by so-called Islamic Courts—and with Amnesty International protesting once again, albeit in restrained tones, about the violations of human rights in Iran—those like Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh who hoped to combine Islam with some secular nationalist ideals, and who spent years fighting the Shah's regime in the West, feel increasingly isolated.

Their central problem is that they lack organization. Ghotbzadeh is a figure of fun for many Iranians, and Bani-Sadr is nicknamed Bani-Harf, the man who talks too much. The clergy control the media, the network of Islamic committees, the 270-person *Majlis* or parliament and in effect run much of the country. The clergy are also exerting themselves to regain control of two important areas of social activity from which the Shah and his father ousted them, education and the law. Anti-clericalism is a deep cultural force in Iran and consistent, in cultural terms, with reverence for Islamic values. And some Iranians now talk of a future *mollah-koshi*, or mollah-killing, when the people will take revenge on these clerical imposters.

Personalized rule.

But at the moment, despite the many divisions of the clergy, no such anti-clericalism has come out on the surface, and the conflict revolves around the reclusive figure of Khomeini himself. The Ayatollah is not, by Iranian standards, aligned with the most hardline mollahs and has on occasion intervened to moderate their more extreme policies. In June, for example, he ordered an end to attacks upon unveiled women in the street and he has tried to smooth relations between Bani-Sadr and Rajai. But precisely because he has reinstituted this diffuse and corrupting system of political power—mediating and issuing decisions without playing a proper executive role—he has created a fatally flawed political system in which all decision-making is achieved by maneuver and intrigue and in which a responsible executive is blocked by the competition for Khomeini's ear. Iranians are, sadly, familiar with the dangers

of such personalized government, and the problems it created under royal regimes have not been absent under the Imam's tenure.

Rumors abound about Khomeini's health, though no definite information is available. Were he to die or cease to have influence it would provoke an immediate crisis for the regime. First, as Ghotbzadeh indicated, it would deprive it of that charismatic leader to whom much of the population appears still loyal and in whom their dwindling hopes reside. Second, it would remove the axis around which governmental conflict revolves, which so far has maintained a minimal unity. Were Khomeini to leave the stage, it is likely that a power struggle would break out among rival factions for control of the state. If Bani-Sadr and his associates represent one such faction, the odds at the moment favor the Islamic Republican Party's leader Ayatollah Beheshti, known to many as the Iranian Rasputin in an inappropriate sobriquet that masks his political realism and cool determination.

But even Beheshti risks being out-

flanked by new forces rising on the right, who are loosely termed "students following the Imam's line." This is the title given to the militants who seized the U.S. embassy last year. Groups claiming allegiance to the hostage-holders have been growing in influence in recent months and taking an especially militant and brutal role in driving the left out of the universities. In the latter part of August a new wave of suppression broke out in several parts of Iran in a manner that suggested not orders from on high but rather the growing power of the ultra-radical right on the streets. In Rasht, north of Tehran, and in the oil refining city of Abadan, on the Gulf coast, the offices of the left-wing Mojahidin of the People were sacked and members of both Mojahidin and Fedayin groups were arrested.

The non-Muslim religious communities have also been the object of new harassment that reflects a rising mood of religious bigotry. Christian schools have been threatened with closure, and the one Jewish member of the *Majlis*, Es-hagh Farahmandpour, has had his parliamentary credentials removed. But the greatest threat is posed to the 300,000 members of the Bahai community, Islamic heretics whose centers have been sacked and whose rights are denied in the Islamic constitution. The nine members of their governing council have been arrested and all Bahai have been ordered to quit government service. Anti-Bahai sentiment is, in Iranian terms, "the socialism of fools," directed as it is against a community that prospered during the Shah's years, and it is a pervasive prejudice even on the Iranian left.

Whatever its level of competence, any new government coming to power in Iran faces enormous difficulties. The economy is not just stagnating; it faces a new precipitous decline with the imminent exhaustion of Iran's foreign exchange reserves. Expectations are that with a growing budget deficit the government will choose the easy option of printing more money, thereby pushing inflation above its present rate of 50 percent. Fighting continues in Kurdistan and the government has given no indication that it wants to reach a negotiated settlement of the nationalities issue. The social bases of counter-revolution are expanding week by week. Meanwhile relations with the Soviet Union have taken a turn for the worse, especially over Iranian opposition to the Soviet role in Afghanistan. A recent article by *Novosti*, the Soviet news agency, seeks to reconcile the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan but adds, in a veiled warning: "History shows that any people who rise to carry out a revolution may count on international solidarity if they too consistently support other peoples defending their democratic, revolutionary gains."

Both internally and externally, Mr. Rajai and his associates will have to make some tough decisions if they are to navigate the rough waters that lie ahead for Iran's tormented revolution.

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies' Transnational Institute.

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When the Detroit police department accused two women police officers of cowardice it raised a question—What makes a good cop?

A Suitable Job For A Woman

By Georgia Christgau

Photos by Steve Kagan

JUST BEFORE MIDNIGHT ON AUG. 27, 1979, two black Detroit police officers, Glenda Rudolph and Katherine Perkins, responded to a citizen's complaint: A man was creating a disturbance at the intersection of Second Avenue and Hazelwood, a quiet, somewhat shabby black neighborhood of semiattached homes and four story apartment buildings. Before getting out of their squad car, Perkins radioed for assistance, more suspicious of a loose Doberman than of Calvin Rowell, a black man who was dancing naked in the middle of the intersection, burning a small pile of money, and yelling about the evils of white people. The officers got the dog out of the way and talked to Rowell until he stopped shouting.

Sergeant Paul Janness, Perkins and Rudolph's white supervisor from Precinct 13, answered the assist call, arriving at the scene in less than a minute. He did not speak to anyone. He approached Rowell, who saw him, rushed forward, and punched him in the mouth. Perkins, a few feet from her squad car, radioed again for assistance. Janness, dazed, fell to the ground, with Rowell on top of him. Both women moved to restrain Rowell. Rudolph grabbed him first around the torso, but Rowell urinated on her arm, so she grabbed him around the neck. Perkins said Rowell did not struggle, but "came up with her" when she put her arms around him. Janness stood up and squared off at Rowell, ready to defend himself. A third car arrived, and another officer handcuffed Rowell. Two minutes had passed.

Janness returned immediately to the precinct, where he talked at length to Lieutenant Ronald Karchevski, his own supervisor. He had suffered no physical injuries, and did not seek medical attention. Perkins and Rudolph took Rowell to the psychiatric ward of Detroit General Hospital; he kept asking what had happened and wanted to know why he was at the hospital.

For five months Rudolph and Perkins

continued working at the precinct on squad car patrol, although they usually did not patrol together. Two days after the incident both were asked for a written account of what happened, a customary procedure for officers brought up on charges. But when the women asked what they were to be charged with, no one would tell them. Finally, at the end of January, Karchevski filed a report that he felt completed the evidence in the case. A *Detroit Free Press* reporter, preparing a story for the next morning's issue, informed Rudolph that she and Perkins had been charged by the department with cowardice. When I interviewed Rudolph later she told me, "I figured no one was, shall I say, man enough to let either of us know what was going on." In conjunction with the cowardice charge, each officer was charged with filing a false or misleading statement. The penalty for cowardice is dismissal; for filing a false statement, 10 days' suspension.

Perkins and Rudolph immediately appealed the charges, requesting a hearing by the police trial board, a rotating three-person panel consisting of two officers and a commander. The board upheld the charges, and on March 17, the women were fired. They each had one appeal left, and this time made them separately. Perkins' case was reviewed by the five-member Board of Police Commissioners in May; a few weeks later, Rudolph went through a union *de nova* arbitration. They were not interested in a crusade, but rather a reversal of the decision based on the merits of the case.

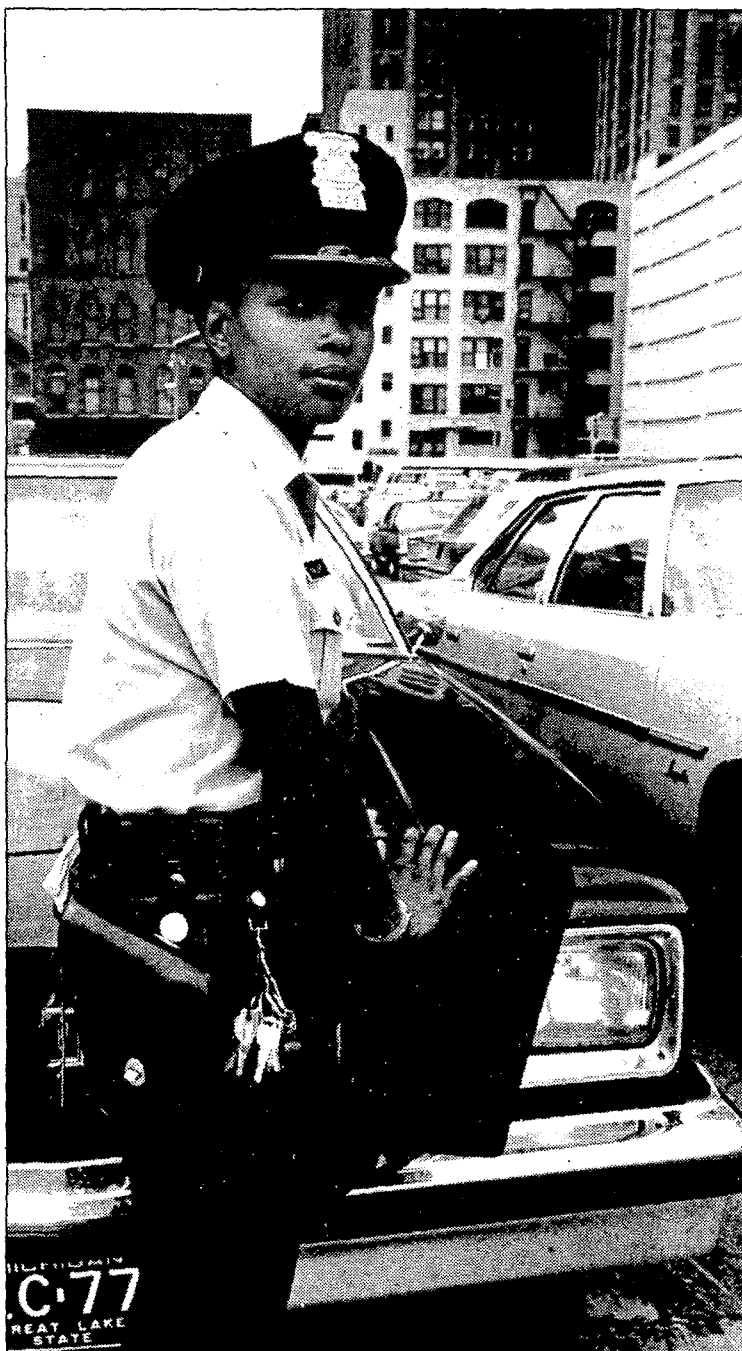
The case generated considerable publicity, both locally and on network TV. In the history of the Detroit police department, no one had ever been fired for cowardice.

The Perkins-Rudolph case took place against a backdrop of mounting conflict between men and women on the force. Sharon Mills-Peek, who served on the Board of Police Commissioners from 1972 to 1977, provided me with an overview. She witnessed some of the tensions

that arose when, as the result of a sex discrimination suit filed by four female police officers in 1973, Federal Judge Ralph Freeman ordered the Detroit police department to hire one female cop for every male until a backlog of 1,500 applications had been exhausted—with retroactive seniority, please. New women officers demanded to be trained for street patrol, traditionally considered "too dangerous" for them; at the same time, they demanded a reevaluation of the department's teaching methods. They wanted women trainers; they didn't get them. They wanted men and women officers to discuss together their different psychologies and natures, "the big dude versus the negotiator," as she put it. They wanted supervisors to attend consciousness-raising sessions. They wanted to discuss the problems women with sen-

iority were having with their promotions—some went from years behind desks to the street without any preparation. Nothing happened. Mills-Peek said, "The women were told, 'You are here only because of a court order. If you can't do it our way, it just proves our point.'"

But the Perkins-Rudolph case touched other sensitivities as well. Mayor Coleman Young was elected in 1974 on the single issue of police reform; he promised to dismantle STRESS, the notoriously violent TPF-type unit designed to preserve law and order in a town that had seen the largest military force ever gathered against civilians in the 1967 riots, in a town that once had the highest murder statistics in the nation. Young's goal was to make the police department reflect the demographics of Detroit: a 50/50 ratio of black officers to white. When he



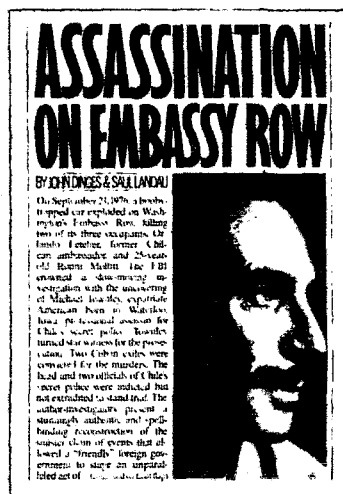
Fellow officer Mable Williams, like friend and colleague Rudolph, joined the force to contribute to lessening tensions between cops and blacks in Detroit.



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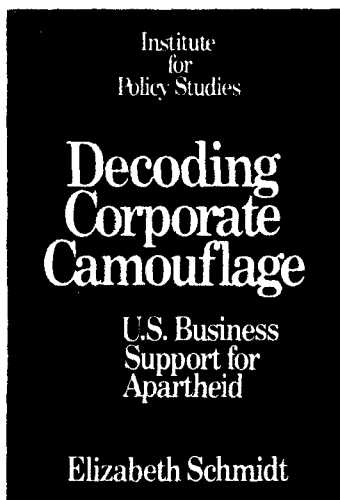
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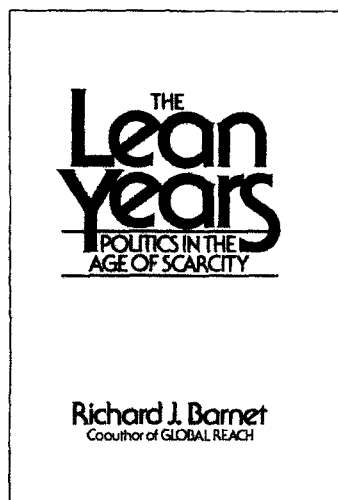


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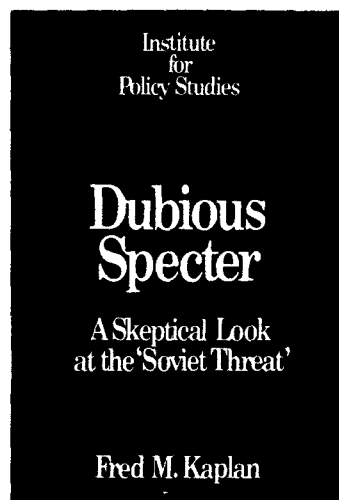
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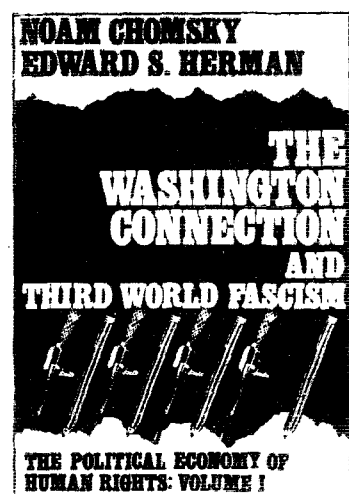
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Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman. (1979) 434 pp, South End Press, cloth, \$15.00 (paper, \$5.50).

"A brilliant, shattering, and convincing account of United States-backed suppression of political and human rights in the Third World... obligatory reading for any American seeking to comprehend the role of the United States in the world since 1946."

Gabriel Kolko

"... devastating logic and overwhelming documentation..."

Paul Sweezy

HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC AID AND PRIVATE BANKS: The Case of Chile

Michael Moffitt and Isabel Letelier. (1978) 16 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00.

This issue paper documents the tremendous increase in private bank loans to the Chilean military dictatorship since the overthrow of Salvador Allende in 1973. Previously unpublished data demonstrates how private banks rescued the Chilean military government by increasing loans to Chile at the very time governments and international institutions were reducing their loans because of massive human rights violations.

HIDDEN TERRORS: The Truth About U.S. Police Operations in Latin America

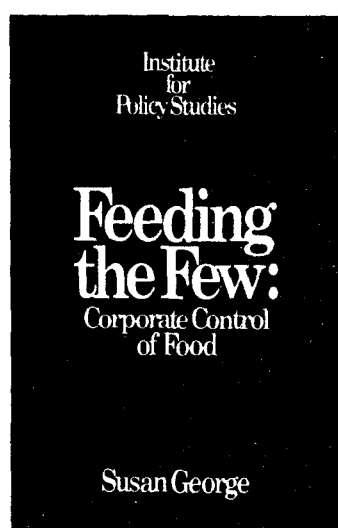
A.J. Langguth. (1978) 345 pp, Pantheon, paper, \$3.95.

"A powerful indictment of what the U.S. helped to bring about in this hemisphere... There is a ring of truth to this book—unpleasant truth. Mr. Langguth tells an ugly story, one from which many lessons remain to be learned."

The New York Times

"A masterful synthesis of compelling narrative and exhaustive investigative reporting on an international scale."

The Los Angeles Times



FEEDING THE FEW: Corporate Control of Food

Susan George. (1978) 79 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-010-9, \$3.95.

The author of *How the Other Half Dies* has extended her critique of the world food system which is geared towards profit not people. This study draws the links between the hungry at home and those abroad exposing the economic and political forces pushing us towards a unified global food system.

WORLD HUNGER: TEN MYTHS

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins. (1977) 50 pp, paper, \$2.75. Synopsis of *Food First*. A useful educational resource for food activists and academics.

HOW THE OTHER HALF DIES

Susan George. (1977) 308 pp, paper, Allenheld-Osmun, \$5.95.

This important examination of multinational agribusiness corporations explains that the roots of hunger are not overpopulation, changing climate, or bad weather, but rather the control of food by the rich. "A most intelligent, urgent and thought-provoking book on a truly vital subject."

John Kenneth Galbraith

FOOD FIRST: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins with Cary Fowler. (1977) 466 pp, paper, \$2.75.

This excellent study by the Institute for Food and Development Policy attributes the causes of world hunger to concentration of economic power in the hands of elites who profit by the generation of scarcity and the internationalization of food control.

"... with its vigorously uncompromising point of view and carefully thought out and documented analysis, it is clearly a major achievement."

The Washington Post

THE CRISIS OF THE CORPORATION

Richard Barnett. (1975) 28 pp, paper, \$1.50. Now a classic, this essay analyzes the power of the multinational corporations which dominate the U.S. economy,

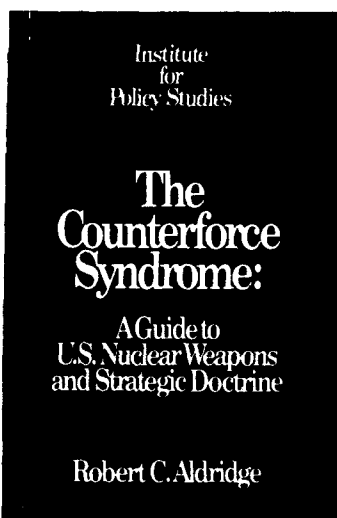


GLOBAL REACH

Richard Barnett and Ronald Müller. (1974) 508 pp, paper, Simon & Schuster, \$7.95.

"A searching, provocative inquiry into global corporations... Barnett and Müller are trenchant and telling in their discussion of the possible end of the nation-state, and have some penetrating views on 'economic imperialism' and future changes in employment patterns and the standard of living under the domination of the global oligopolists."

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THE COUNTERFORCE SYNDROME: A Guide to U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine

Robert C. Aldridge. (second edition 1979) 86 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-008-7, \$4.95. This study discloses the shift from "deterrence" to "counterforce" in U.S. strategic doctrine. A thorough, newly-revised summary and analysis of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons and military policy including descriptions of MIRVs, MARVs, Trident systems, cruise missiles, and M-X missiles in relation to the aims of a U.S. first-strike attack.

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Earl C. Ravenal, et al. (1978) 32 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00. This proposal argues that in light of destabilizing new strategic weapons systems and increasing regional conflicts which could involve the superpowers, the U.S. should take independent steps toward disarmament by not deploying new "counterforce" weapons, pledging no first use of nuclear weapons, and by following a non-interventionist foreign policy.

THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Marcus G. Raskin. (1979) 211 pp, paper, Transaction, \$5.95. This historical analysis of the national security state traces its evolution from a planning instrument to ensure national stability, mute class conflicts and secure the domestic economy to the basis for covert and overt imperialism. The debacle in Indochina, the genocidal nature of the arms race, and growing economic instability, however, signal the decline of this structure. This incisive study impels renewed public debate of national policy and purpose.

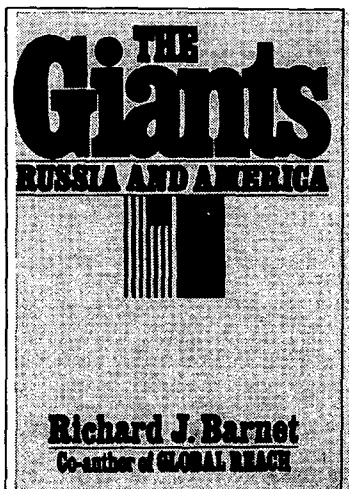
RESURGENT MILITARISM

Michael T. Klare and the Bay Area Chapter of the Inter-University Committee. (1979) 14 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00. An analysis of the origins and consequences of the growing militaristic fervor which is spreading from Washington across the nation. The study examines America's changing strategic position since Vietnam and the political and economic forces which underlie the new upsurge in militarism.

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Daniel Volman. (1980) ca 24 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00. A study of the growing military involvement of the two superpowers and their allies in Africa. Challenging the usual exclusive focus on Soviet and Cuban activities, the study suggests that the continuing escalation of French and American involvement threatens to engulf the continent in armed chaos and to bring the two superpowers into direct confrontation. Contains extensive data on African arms trade, the strength of African military forces, and the role of foreign military personnel.



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Proceedings of an IPS Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations, May 14-15, 1979. 27 pp, paper, \$2.00. Distinguished experts explore the prospect for change in the USSR, define the role of the Soviet military in Eastern Europe and assess the U.S.-Soviet military balance. Based on reliable data and analytical rigor, these statements debunk the myth of a new Soviet threat.

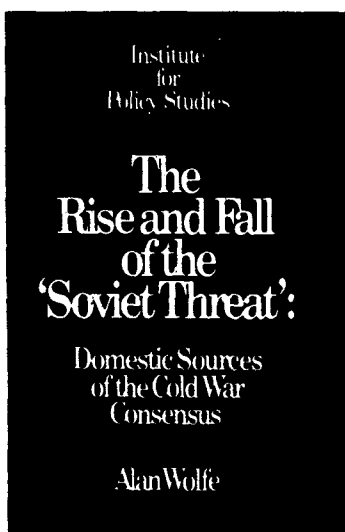
CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT: An Unfulfilled Promise

Michael T. Klare and Max Holland. (1978) 8 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00.

A review of several aspects of current steps to reduce the amounts and sophistication of weapons sold, close loopholes in Carter administration policy on overall sales, especially to human rights violators, reduce secrecy, improve Congressional oversight, limit co-production arrangements and restrict sales of police and related equipment to authoritarian regimes abroad.

NEVER AGAIN: Learning from America's Foreign Policy Failures

Earl C. Ravenal. (1978) 151 pp, cloth, Temple University, \$10.00. This study identifies four versions of what went wrong with American foreign policy in the 1960's and what should be done to avoid similar failures. The "establishment" version is set against the "liberal critique," the "economic argument" and the "moral critique." All are criticized by Ravenal who urges that each of them calls for adjustments, not changes, and treats symptoms rather than causes. A fifth position is advanced, the author's own reconsideration of basic assumptions about the place of America in world affairs, the meaning we attach to a threat to our security, and the options we entertain in the face of such challenges.



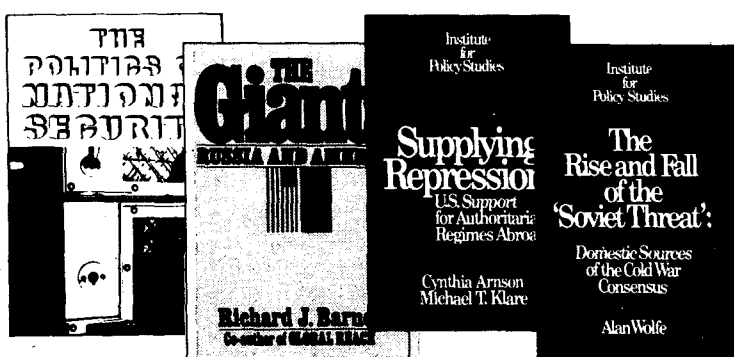
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE 'SOVIET THREAT': Domestic Sources of the Cold War Consensus

Alan Wolfe. (1980) 94 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-019-2, \$4.95.

A timely essay demonstrating that American fear of the Soviet Union tends to fluctuate according to domestic factors as well as in relation to the military and foreign policies of the USSR. Wolfe contends that recurring features of American domestic politics periodically coalesce to spur anti-Soviet sentiment, contributing to increased tensions and dangerous confrontations.

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Morton H. Halperin, Jerry J. Berman, Robert L. Borosage, Christine M. Marwick. (1976) 328 pp, paper, Penguin, \$3.95.

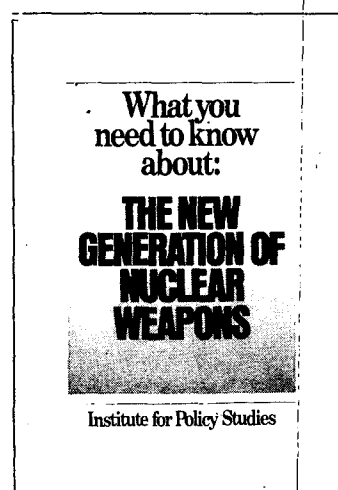
The first thoroughly documented report on the crimes and abuses of the U.S. intelligence agencies. Reviewing each agency's specific bureaucratic history of political spying, this work presents two case studies—the CIA campaign against Allende and the FBI vendetta against King.

PEACE IN SEARCH OF MAKERS: Riverside Church Reverse the Arms Race Convocation

Jane Rockman, Editor. (1979) 158 pp, paper, \$5.95.

A compilation of papers denouncing the proliferation of sophisticated weaponry, which threatens a nuclear cataclysm and destroys our society by diverting resources from social services and programs. This volume confronts the moral, economic, strategic and ethical aspects of the arms race and appeals for a citizen coalition to reverse the course of social decay and uncontrolled nuclear armament. Contributions by Richard Barnet, Michael Klare, Cynthia Arnson, Marcus Raskin and others.

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THE NEW GENERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Stephen Daggett. (1980) 20 pp, paper, \$2.00.

An updated summary of strategic weapons, including American and Soviet nuclear hardware. These precarious new technologies may provoke startling shifts in strategic policy, leading planners to consider fighting "limited nuclear wars" or developing a pre-emptive first strike capability.

FORTHCOMING TITLES

IPS RESEARCH GUIDE TO CURRENT MILITARY AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

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BEYOND THE 'VIETNAM SYNDROME': U.S. Interventionism in the 1980s

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Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer. (1980) 448 pp, cloth, M.E. Sharpe, \$15.00 (\$7.95 paper).

Arguing that only structural reforms in the American economy offer solutions to inflation, unemployment, and welfare, this book examines public ownership and control of investment, worker ownership and representation on corporate boards, alternative technologies, and democratic economic planning. It concludes with a strategy for building a national movement for economic democracy in the 1980s.

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Professor Bennett Harrison MIT

"... an excellent agenda for the discussion of that perennial question, What is to be done?"

Robert Lekachman City University of New York

DEMOCRACY FOR THE FEW

Michael Parenti. (Third edition 1980) 336 pp, paper, St. Martin's, \$7.95.

"One of the most important books by an American political scientist in recent years ... no one before him has taken the standard topics ... Congress, the Presidency, the judiciary, parties, the founding fathers, etc. ... and systematically treated them as aspects of the one foundation topic: who owns, controls, distributes and benefits from the wealth of the nation? Parenti has done that and done it brilliantly."

The Nation

POWER AND THE POWERLESS

Michael Parenti. (1978) 238 pp, paper, St. Martin's, \$6.95.

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Publishers Weekly

TO SERVE THE DEVIL: A Documentary Analysis of America's Racial History and Why It Has Been Kept Hidden

Volume I: Natives and Slaves
Volume II: Colonials and Sojourners

Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau with Eve Pell. (1971) Vol. I—360 pp, ISBN 0-89788-012-9, \$2.95. Vol. 2—379 pp, ISBN 0-89788-013-7, \$3.95.

The classic analysis of the dual elements in the American character—a simultaneous attachment to democracy and to racism. They analyze the concept of the melting pot and the reasons for its failure. They trace the relationship between domestic racism and foreign imperialism, presenting evidence of the way all minority cultures which seemed to block the white man's drive to power were destroyed.

WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY

Daniel Zwerdling. (1980) 195 pp, paper, Harper Colophon, \$5.95.

"... an important contribution ... a valuable source book for all those interested in ... the organization of America's factories, mills and offices."

The New Republic

"... an excellent description of the most significant recent developments in worker participation, worker cooperatives, and employee ownership."

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ENERGY-EFFICIENT COMMUNITY PLANNING: A Guide to Saving Energy and Producing Power at the Local Level

James Ridgeway. (1979) 218 pp, paper, JG Press, \$9.95.

A timely report on forward-thinking American cities and towns developing comprehensive programs and alternative energy systems. Encompassing projects conducted in a variety of communities, this practical guide documents the range of energy-efficient alternatives available for implementation on the local level.

NEW ENERGY Understanding the Crisis and a Guide to an Alternative Energy System

James Ridgeway and Bettina Conner. (1975) 224 pp, cloth, Beacon, \$7.95.

Tracing the origins of the energy crisis to vertical integration of the oil companies at the beginning of this century, this thoroughly researched study documents collusion between government and the energy industry in manipulating the flow of oil and proposes a detailed plan for a system of democratically controlled energy districts.

STRIKE!

Jeremy Brecher. (1979) 329 pp, paper, South End Press, \$5.50.

"The best book I have seen on American labor as a social movement ... By focusing on mass actions of workers, Brecher sheds new light on the role of trade unions and radical organizations in the labor movement. Well-written, well-researched and well-argued."

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PLANT CLOSINGS: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

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PUBLIC EMPLOYEE PENSION FUNDS: New Strategies for Investment

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A guide detailing channels for redirecting public pension fund assets to socially useful investments. This work surveys legal questions, portfolio management, political and institutional obstacles, and alternative investment opportunities. Includes a bibliography and glossary of terms.

TAX ABATEMENTS: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders

Ed Kelly and Lee Webb. (1980) 80 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89788-013-7, \$4.95 (\$6.95 for institutions).

A current examination of tax abatements which favor corporations with special deals while increasing onerous local property taxes. Attributing the problem to corporate influence on local government, this analysis identifies the tactics successfully employed by public officials, community groups and labor unions to thwart corporate parasitism.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF OIL Energy Policy and the Public Interest

Robert Engler. (1977) 337 pp, cloth, University of Chicago, \$12.50 (\$2.95, paper).

"the best single study of the energy industry so far."

The New York Review of Books

"Engler makes clear how the oil companies manipulate prices ... take advantage of real shortages to raise prices, ... extract the profits and slough off the loss associated with the energy crisis, ... control the pace of technological development ... control demand."

The Washington Post

THE POLITICS OF OIL Private Power and Democratic Directions

Robert Engler. (1961, 1967, 1976) 565 pp, paper, University of Chicago, \$5.95.

"The best available description of the political machinations of the oil interests, this book is being used as a resource for current Congressional investigations."

Business and Society Review "a study of the relation of power and responsibility ... the oil industry ... has become, in effect, a private government controlling most of the petroleum resources of the world."

Journal of Politics

"A stunning piece of research and analysis."

The Washington Post

NEW DIRECTIONS IN FARM, LAND AND FOOD POLICIES: A Time for State and Local Action

Joe Belden, Gibby Edwards, Cynthia Guyer, Lee Webb, Editors. (1979) 320 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89788-010-2, \$9.95 (\$14.95 for institutions).

A resource guide to farm, land and food issues. This working manual documents available policy alternatives and identifies proposals for anti-corporate farm acts, graduated land taxes, access to credit and land for family farmers, food co-ops and farmers' markets, and state and city food plans. Organization lists and extensive bibliographies accompany each section.

THE BATTLE OF CLEVELAND: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power

Dan Marshall, Editor. (1979) 163 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89788-018-8, \$7.95 (\$9.95 for institutions).

A thorough account of the corporate/public interest conflict in Cleveland. With an overview of the city's economic and power structure, this book focuses on the rise of public interest politics, the Kucinich administration's resistance to corporate dominance of City Hall, and the clash that led to the Mayor's re-election defeat. By identifying programmatic alternatives, this book offers guidelines for the future.

STATE AND LOCAL TAX REVOLT Perspective, Proposal and Resources

Dean Tipps and Lee Webb, Editors. (1980) 300 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89788-010-2, \$9.95 (\$14.95 for institutions).

A comprehensive guide to state and local tax issues. Progressive tax experts discuss both the problems of tax equity and the prospects for reform initiatives, emphasizing property, estate and sales taxes and innovative proposals for taxing land speculation, business and corporate profits. This compendium includes original articles, material from periodicals, leaflets, and memos prepared in tax reform campaigns.

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DETROIT



took office the police department was 18 percent black; today the force is nearly 40 percent black and 11 percent female.

In 1977, police chief William Hart dismissed three white officers when, along with nine others, they were charged with misconduct at a protest staged in 1975 in front of the federal courthouse. The court had ruled that white officers with greater seniority would be laid off before blacks and women. About 1,000 white off-duty protesting cops shouted epithets and hurled beer cans, one of which hit a black, off-duty policeman who was driving by in his car. In May 1977, after further layoffs, a woman officer at one precinct reported for duty and found the windshield of her squad car strewn with dead rats.

Despite the court ruling, continuing layoffs threaten to roll back minority employment to 1977 levels, and the Detroit police union has shown little interest in protecting its black and female members. Although affirmative action has permanently altered the makeup of the union, 70 percent of the officers brought up on charges by the department are black, while citizens' allegations of police brutality are still primarily against white officers.

BY THE TIME PERKINS AND RUDOLPH started their second appeals, the cowardice charge was beginning to show signs of wear. At the trial board hearings, both officers were offered a deal—to plead guilty to misconduct—which they refused. The refusal was courageous. "Misconduct" is a far less serious charge than cowardice, carrying a penalty of no more than 60 days' suspension, and frequently less. A lot of officers have the charge on their records.

I arrived in Detroit in time for Rudolph's second appeal, a union arbitration.

Only one of the witnesses Karchevski had found appeared. Sam Jones, a cab driver, repeated his earlier testimony that Rudolph (and Perkins) had done nothing to help Janness at the incident. He also said, though, that the officers yelled, "Stop! Stop this beating!" when Rowell and Janness were on the ground, and that Rowell was subdued by that order before Rudolph and Perkins even picked him up. Jones further corroborated testimony by Rudolph and Perkins that when Janness stood up he ordered Rudolph, "Don't handcuff him. I'm gonna whip this motherfucker's ass." Janness denied this.

This was the only time I saw Janness. He refuses to be interviewed about the case, and at the hearing he seemed un-

easy. About six feet tall, well-built but not muscular, and blond, he kept hitching his pants during his testimony.

By contrast, Karchevski was a rock. A big, hefty man with wavy gray hair and 20 years in the department, he seemed almost bored as he testified, reeling off his answers as if he'd said them a thousand times. Because there were no legal precedents except in the military, cowardice was defined as "backing away from an aggressive situation when aggressive action is required; fear," although this got confused with misconduct, "failing to come to the assistance of a police officer," whenever it was mentioned that the trial board had offered both women the lesser charge.

Karchevski, though, may have gone to the heart of the matter when questioned about the way Janness looked as he came back to the precinct the night of Aug. 27. Why was Karchevski using this ridiculous case to call two women cowards? A man's pride was at stake. "When Janness came back to the precinct," Karchevski said, "he looked like he had been in a fight and lost." (When I interviewed Karchevski later and asked why Janness hadn't sought medical attention, he said, "Because he's not a candy-ass.")

Dressed in a neon turquoise suit, her thin, serious face offset by soft new jeri-curls, Rudolph testified at her arbitration with some asperity. At one point, prosecuting attorney James Zieman muttered at her, "Perhaps you should be the one asking the questions." And she played her anger for laughs. After a long string of questions asking how it was that she, a five-foot-four-inch 104-pound female, could effectively subdue a six-foot, 200-pound male, she answered impatiently, "Would you like me to demonstrate with you?"

ALTHOUGH YOKED TOGETHER by their case, Katherine Perkins and Glenda Rudolph aren't especially close. There are striking differences between them.

Rudolph, 27, is single, has two sisters who are police officers, and is something of a tomboy. As a teenager she ran with a motorcycle gang. Today she's planning a wedding with 23 bridesmaids. Perkins, 35, is a mother of four whose husband "doesn't believe in women working." Before joining the police in 1977, she was a secretary for three years at a half-way house for delinquent youths. While appealing her dismissal, she finished her B.A. in criminal justice at Wayne State University in the city.

Rudolph was better liked by the local media, who, although sympathetic, divided the women into macho and non-macho: one of them's like us, the other isn't. Rudolph has twice been injured in the line of duty; the press used this the way an old military hack would show his scars—they proved she got involved and wasn't a coward. Perkins has been shot at, knocked off a porch, and kicked while working as a cop. Further, "At one time," her former employer said, "we had 27 kids here for murder and 32 for rape, and she was never afraid of working with them." Nevertheless, Perkins' insistently nonviolent approach to her job seemed to leave reporters a little baffled.

I interviewed Perkins with her lawyer and Rudolph with Officer Mable Williams, a friend "long before the police department" and also an officer on squad car patrol at 13. All three women said that when they joined the department they felt they had something to contribute in a city where the tension between cops and blacks is so extreme. As civilians, both Williams and Rudolph had experienced police harassment.

"I was at an apartment one time, watching someone's kids," Rudolph said. "The police took the hinges off the doors and came in. Said they were looking for someone. They searched that whole place. I took the kids, sat them on my lap, and watched the whole thing. I don't think they even asked me who I was. When they left, I asked were they going to put the door back. They said,

'When your old man comes back, ask him to do it.'"

Both women said that respect for police officers is a big problem on the job, but they understood. "You see, most black families have dealt with police by getting their front doors kicked in," Rudolph said. "Most of the runs we're out on, we feel we can help. I'm not on this job to carry a gun or bully anybody around. My brother always said I'm too light in the ass to think I'm bad."

When I asked Perkins whether or not the legendary camaraderie of police officers was a problem for her as a woman, she said, "I mind my own business here, and I don't hang around with officers after work because I can only take eight hours of this a day." Then she added, "But police officers feel we are a special breed of people, and I agree with them to an extent because when I became a police officer, I kept two friends."

"Most people think a certain type of woman applies for this job," Perkins thought a minute until a dimple punctuated her round face, and continued. "One problem I've had on the force is that I don't fit this image. I had a sergeant tell me that he had heard I said I was a woman first and then a police officer. I said, 'Almost. I'm a woman, then a mother, and then a police officer.' He said, 'No you're not. You're a police officer first.' This went on for days."

When I asked about the differences between male and female cops on the job, all the women talked about family disputes. These are the most common—and the most dangerous—"runs," or calls from civilians for help. "A male officer will barge into a house," Perkins said. "Now a man is not gonna let another man come into his house and tell him to leave."

"The most important thing with a family run," Rudolph said, "is not to blow it. The first thing you do is separate the people involved and say, 'Let's talk about it.' The last thing you want to

Continued on page 15



DETROIT

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

LOOKING FORWARD TO POLITICS

IT WAS SHOCKING TO SEE *ITT*'S HORRIFIC and lopsided coverage of the Peoples Convention held in the South Bronx right before the Democratic Party Convention (*ITT*, Aug. 27). A few comments on your reporting:

It is insulting to the political work people are engaged in to say that the Peoples Convention was a "small conglomeration of varied groups devoted to 1960s style 'struggle.'" Fifteen hundred people representing such critical movements as the anti-nuclear power and weapons struggle, the fight to rebuild our cities, the efforts to stop runaway shops and plant closings, the bat-

tle for women's equality and freedom, the fight for lesbian and gay liberation, the work of support/solidarity groups with struggles around the world cannot be written off as a "small conglomeration." And how condescending to put quotes around the word struggle. Struggle is very much the reality of countless people—an everyday reality.

The Aug. 10 march of a "few thousand people" was in fact 15,000 people from Hispanic, black, native American and white communities. The march was not designed to make demands on the Democratic Party but rather as an articulation of our perspective and our differences with both major parties.

Your reporter clearly did not talk to participants in the Peoples Convention about electoral work. If he had, he

would have quickly seen the great interest in that work. What we reject is the two-party system. We very much look forward to working in the electoral area, not in reforming the Democratic Party, though.

Again, using quotes—this time around the word oppression—is one of the most outrageous things I have ever seen in a supposedly left publication. Oppression is not an abstraction or something to belittle or poke fun at. Talk to a family burned out of their apartment in the South Bronx. Talk to lesbian mothers fighting for custody of their children. Talk to black people fighting against police brutality.

Instead of undercutting the real and vital movements of our day, why not put some effort into honest and more thorough discussions of the issues, and the various, serious political strategies people are thinking about for the future.

—Leslie Cagan

Member, National Committee of the Coalition for a Peoples Alternative in 1980

JEWS AND PENNSYLVANIA

ALFRED F. YOUNG'S ARTICLE ON "Revolutionary Mechanics" (*ITT*, Aug. 13) was excellent. I have a question, however, about one point.

Young writes: "Pennsylvania was most radically democratic, Massachusetts and South Carolina the least, New York somewhere in between. The Pennsylvania constitution came closest to a democratic ideal: a one-house legislature, annual elections, a near-universal male suffrage open to all who served in the militia, public office without property qualifications...."

Yet for public office there was a qualification that excluded Jews. Article 10 of the Pennsylvania constitution required office-holders to take an oath on the New Testament (while Article 38 of the New York state constitution adopted in 1777 had no such qualification). On Dec. 23, 1783, a petition was presented to Pennsylvania state authorities by the Jewish communal leaders Simon Nathan, Asher Myers, Bernard Gratz and Haym Salomon, to change this article of the constitution. The petition was ignored.

When the Federal Constitutional Convention assembled in Philadelphia in 1787, it received a communication from Jonas Phillips: "...I the subscriber being one of the people called Jews of the City of Philadelphia, a people scattered and dispersed among all nations, do behold with concern that among the laws in the Constitution of Pennsylvania there is a Clause Sect 10 to viz—I do believe in one God the creator and governor of the universe and rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked—and I do acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testament was given by divine inspiration. To swear and believe that the New Testament was given by divine inspiration is absolutely against the religious principle of a Jew, and is against his conscience to take any such oath. By the above law a Jew is deprived of holding any public office...."

The proceedings of the Constitutional Convention being secret, Jonas Phillips did not know that the Convention had already provided for such separation of church and state.

Were the revolutionary democratic mechanics indifferent to the issue of church-state separation?

—Morris U. Schappes
Editor, *Jewish Currents*
New York

HOW TO STOP REAGAN

COUNSELING US TO CONCENTRATE on legislative elections in a recent editorial and "go to the districts" (where we should have been in the first place) amounts to sitting out the national election and virtually conceding the presidency to Reagan by default.

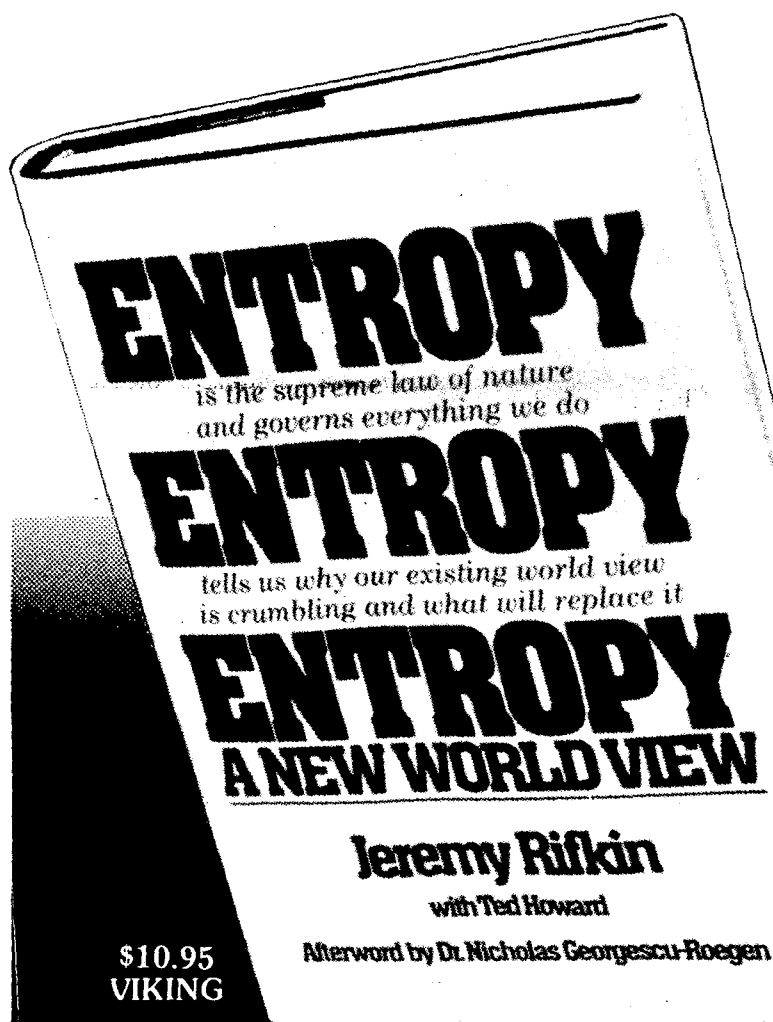
You are quite wrong about presidential politics being "a dead end" and that any president "would not offend the major corporations" lest "they withhold investments to create a politically damaging recession." Such a view is negative and defeatist and ignores positive reforms and changes in direction of government sought and won by a working coalition of wage earners, minorities and blacks not too long ago.

Despite your editorial denigrating John Anderson as "the least unpalatable of three evils," he nevertheless is the only real obstacle in the path of Reagan and reaction this Nov. 4th.

That is why realistic and determined progressives should welcome an alternative to the Tweedledum and Tweedledee old parties of recession and reaction, and help infuse the Anderson campaign with their ideas, enthusiasm and money, and prove that the American people can offer a better leader of the so-called "free world" than a Carter or a Reagan.

—Irving Gold
Miami Beach, Fla.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



Once in a great while a concept changes the course of history.

"It describes with clarity the intellectual wreckage that must be cleared away before human beings can construct a social order that is at peace with the natural order."

—Quest 80

The Entropy Law states that all energy flows from orderly to disorderly, from usable to unusable. In his new book "ENTROPY", Jeremy Rifkin explains how this inexorable process governs every aspect of our life.

"A cogent and urgent argument... sobering and hard hitting."
—*Publisher's Weekly*

"It has compelled me to re-evaluate much of the safe and comfortable thinking which governs our day to day lives."
—*Senator Mark Hatfield*

"Jeremy Rifkin has done it again: producing a book that forces people to rethink at once their own lives and the entire social system that surrounds them."
—*Jonathan Kozol, Author, Death At An Early Age*

"... most articulate and comprehensive... I do believe the book should be widely read and taken to heart."
—*Hugh Downs, ABC-News*

"... should create the same kind of heated controversy and the same kind of reluctant but inexorable acceptance as the revolutionary concepts advanced by Copernicus and Darwin."
—*Rufus E. Miles, Jr., Princeton University*

"This brilliant work will strike terror into the heart of every economist. It is a major reconceptualization..."
—*Hazel Henderson, Author Creating Alternative Futures*

"... penetrates to the heart of the energy equation in human history. Rifkin has painted a picture of the moral order that must eventuate."
—*Theodore A. Wertime, Smithsonian Institution*

PERSPECTIVES

Is the USSR nosing ahead in arms race?

By David T. Johnson

THE RELATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET UNION and the U.S. is once again the subject of emotional political debate. Official warnings of growing Soviet might already have led the Carter administration to plan for expenditures of \$1 trillion over the next five years. Powerful forces in Congress and Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan are pressing for even larger military budgets. "Let's not delude ourselves," says Reagan. "The Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on. If they weren't engaged in this game of dominoes, there wouldn't be any hot spots in the world."

The view that the Soviet Union is the source of all the world's troubles is traditional in the U.S. Even more than in the past, politicians and government officials place disparities in military strength between the U.S. and the Soviet Union at the heart of American foreign policy problems. As Defense Secretary Harold Brown has said, "Even when Soviet pressure is political, its foundation is Soviet military power."

But are huge increases in American military spending necessary? Is the Soviet Union catching up with the U.S. in military capacity? Or ahead of us?

Tendency to exaggerate.

There is an ingrained tendency in our government to overstate Soviet military power and understate American and allied strengths. Although the best-known examples of this are in the past (the missile "gap," etc.), the problem is still with us.

The tendency to exaggerate occurs for several reasons. Military officials, in order to get public and congressional support for large budgets, believe their message must be dramatic. Our political leaders are much more acquainted and concerned with our problems than with those of potential adversaries. They tend to focus on aspects of the competition in which we appear deficient, and to ignore aspects in which we may have an advantage. And there is an inevitable inclination on the part of military planners to be conservative, to focus narrowly on dangers.

And, of course, the press is fond of portraying our relations with the Soviets as a soap opera of easily understood images, or as an athletic contest with winners and losers. But the problem of forming sound opinions is also compounded by the lack of expertise about Soviet affairs and foreign policy both inside and outside the American government. Ignorance of the Soviet Union is fundamental to our floundering today. Experts on the Soviets such as George Kennan and Marshall Shulman have drawn attention to the problem of American misperceptions of the Russians. Dr. Robert Legvold of the Council on Foreign Relations concludes that "the gaps in our knowledge are enormous. And they are growing." He believes that "our view of the Soviet Union is shaped increasingly by popular impressions, *a priori* analyses, built from superficial reflections on the Soviet actions that most catch the eye, and traditional habits of thought."

American military planning is particularly affected by indifference to or downright distortions of Soviet perceptions. It is remarkable how little informed attention is paid to these matters, especially when one notices that American military

officials constantly reiterate that our military strategy is based on deterrence and that what the other fellow thinks is of fundamental importance.

Russians and Americans have different appraisals of each other's military situation. They disagree sharply on what constitutes military forces adequate for the defense of the Soviet Union. American officials repeatedly discover that Soviet forces are alarmingly in excess of their defense requirements. As far back as 1950 a U.S. National Security Council study reached the conclusion still being offered today as a new insight: "The Soviet Union actually possesses armed forces far in excess of those necessary to defend its territory."

Clearly, both the U.S. and the USSR can be said to have forces far in excess of those required to defend their own territory. In fact, the bulk of American military spending is not used to defend American territory, but rather to project our military power overseas to defend our dependents and allies. Looked at this way, probably a greater proportion of Soviet military activity goes strictly for national defense.

On the other hand, the military forces of each country are hopelessly inadequate to defend against nuclear war or to prevail over the other with any certainty in conventional war. This is the paradox of defense in the nuclear age. It is part of the reason why there can be such divergent views on what constitutes adequate forces for defense in both countries.

Using official Defense Department sources, a strong case can be made that the U.S. and its military allies continue to have superior military power. In the areas of nuclear weapons, military spending, military technology, number of men under arms, naval forces, forces for intervention, forces in Europe, and the overall balance of world power, the Soviet Union is probably inferior to the alliance of powers opposing it. Defense Secretary Brown's conclusion that "by most relevant measures, we remain the military equal or superior to the Soviet Union" flows from the following figures:

The Soviet Union has fewer nuclear weapons than its antagonists. In this crucial measure of nuclear strength, the U.S. and its allies will retain the advantage as plans to produce more than 20,000 nuclear weapons over the next decade are implemented. The U.S. now has 9,500 strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviets have 6,000 and American allies (including China) have about 1,000. Other measures of strategic forces also favor the U.S. side: long-range bombers, submarine-launched nuclear weapons, overall accuracy and higher alert rates and readiness. The U.S. is far ahead of the Soviet Union in submarine and anti-submarine forces and warfare. The U.S. is in a much better position to exploit the

emerging situation in which fixed, land-based systems are becoming vulnerable and obsolete.

Even utilizing the CIA's questionable methodology for comparing military budgets (which assumes that the Soviets pay as much as the U.S. does for soldiers and weapons), combined NATO military spending has exceeded that of the Warsaw Pact for many years. In 1979 NATO military spending was at least \$215 billion, compared to \$175 billion for the Warsaw Pact. And if Chinese military spending is also included, the Western allies had combined military expenditures of \$265 billion in 1979. NATO's edge is accentuated by its ability to manufacture weapons for less money than Warsaw Pact nations. Secretary Brown, in an obvious reference to the less efficient Soviet industries, recently said, "The Soviets probably have to invest more defense resources than we do to achieve a comparable military result."

American military leaders testify to our continuing edge in quality and effectiveness of military technology. Brown says, "Our technology, on balance, continues to surpass theirs by a considerable margin." Edward R. Jayne, assistant director for National Security and International Affairs of the Office of Management and Budget, in April 1980 said that not only do we have "the technology edge," but also that "the edge is getting greater." Across the board from automated control and computers, to microelectronics, integrated circuits and telecommunications and processing, the Defense Department has advantages over the Soviets. In precision-guided weapons, which Dr. William Perry, head of Pentagon research, has called "the most significant application of technology to modern warfare since the development of radar," Perry states that the U.S. has a "substantial lead."

The Soviet Union, which has traditionally maintained a huge standing army, is outnumbered even in military personnel. The Warsaw Pact has about 4.8 million active duty military personnel. NATO has 5.1 million and China has 4.4 million, for a total of 9.5 million anti-Soviet military personnel. American and NATO military manpower is better trained and, man for man, can operate with more initiative and resourcefulness. The U.S. has nearly 500,000 troops at many military bases around the world, while the Soviet Union has few military bases outside its borders, except in Eastern Europe.

NATO naval superiority over the Warsaw Pact is also striking. NATO has a

substantial lead in major surface combatants (400 to 235) and a more than 2:1 advantage in total tonnage of naval forces. Large NATO naval vessels have superior military effectiveness and can operate on more distant patrols than Soviet ships. In a global role, the Soviet Navy would suffer greatly from a lack of air cover in operations away from the Soviet land-mass.

Soviet aggressive capability.

While the Soviets were able to invade neighboring Afghanistan, Soviet forces for more distant military intervention "are minimal at present," according to General David Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Soviet naval infantry (marines) number some 12,000 with minimal fire support, compared to our 185,000-man Marine Corps. Our amphibious lift of 66 ships is far superior to the Soviet "blue water" ships. American airlift assets are also greatly superior. And, of course, the U.S. has its worldwide base structure and alliance system.

With regard to forces in Europe, Secretary Brown recently said, "In the central region of Europe, a rough numerical balance exists between the immediately available non-nuclear forces of NATO (including France) and those of the Warsaw Pact." This contradicts the widely-held view that the Soviets could easily conquer Western Europe in a blitzkrieg. While in some cases the number of weapons favors the Warsaw Pact, NATO exceeds the Warsaw Pact in military personnel in Europe by about one million men. The quality of NATO weapons, including artillery, anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air missiles, military helicopters, tactical aircraft and air-launched missiles, exceeds that of the Soviets.

A bottom-line assessment of the balance of world power reveals a substantial inferiority on the part of the Soviet Union, and a balance of world power strikingly to the advantage of the West and its allies. The Center for Defense Information, utilizing indexes of power developed by former CIA official Ray Cline in his books on *World Power Trends*, has calculated the following approximate division of world power: Pro-West and China, 70 percent; Soviet Union and its clients, 20 percent; other, 10 percent.

The view from Moscow is far from euphoric as Soviet leaders examine the world around them and the kinds of military comparisons outlined here.

David T. Johnson is director of research at the Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.

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INPRINT

MICHAEL HARRINGTON



Corporate priorities have resulted both in social misery and in business crisis, says Harrington.

Agenda for the '80s

Decade of Decision

By Michael Harrington
Simon & Schuster, 336 pp.,
\$11.95

By David Moberg

Around 1970 the political and economic system of the United States took a turn toward deep "structural" crisis. As a result, the coming decade of the 1980s could become a time of national reevaluation that brings changes in many basic institutions at least as sweeping as those made during the 1930s, according to Michael Harrington, the socialist writer and national chair of the Democratic Socialist Organ-

izing Committee.

Decade of Decision is Harrington's broadside on many of the big public-policy questions of the day—taxes, the federal budget, income redistribution, job creation, plant closings, welfare and more. He mounts an effective counterattack against standard neoconservative and right-wing shibboleths that are repeated so often that they have nearly become popular wisdom: income guarantees don't work, tax breaks spur investment, full employment means at least 7 percent unemployed, business is hamstrung by capital shortages and low profits, recession is the only way to fight inflation, or

the government is spending too much money. In each instance, Harrington debunks such misleading bits of common nonsense.

The heart of Harrington's book is an argument that corporate domination of the economy, combined with what appears to be the start of a new "long wave" of economic stagnation, has created a general crisis that is best exemplified by stagflation. Stagflation is inflation combined with economic slowdown, two phenomena that were supposed to move in opposite directions. The cause is not occasional oil crises, government spending or high wages, Har-

ington argues, but rather oligopolistic pricing and profit-making. The solution is a planned full-employment economy with "democratic socialization of at least part of the process of capital formation."

Liberal tradition.

Harrington attacks part of the liberal tradition and the U.S. welfare state as inadequate to the crisis and perhaps even dangerous. He exalts other aspects as of the same broad tradition as providing the stepping stones to a radically altered capitalism, if not socialism. He rejects the basic premise of American welfare statism, that the public good is advanced through the public subsidy of private profit. The "ideological limits" of American politics reject public preemption of arenas of private enterprise even when it would lead to overall public good, except when the corporations want to bail out of losing lines of business or want to socialize some of their costs. Those limits must be breached, Harrington argues, but one of the problems he notes is that most Americans, including blue-collar workers, are somewhat conservative ideologically, even though they may be much more to the left in terms of support for specific programs.

The better, neglected side of liberalism that Harrington advances calls for, among other things, redistribution of income, restrictions on perpetuation of inherited fortunes, a system of agricultural production based on subsidies to family farmers to produce their maximum output, national health insurance, standardizing levels of income support and social services throughout the country and minimizing differentials in income. The ultimate aim of these reforms is not only the specific benefits to health, happiness, a stable economy and greater equality they would bring, but also "democratic control of the investment process."

Harrington effectively debates the neo-conservatives, old reac-

tionaries and new corporate planners, who want to put government even more directly to work for corporate needs. Yet *Decade of Decision* falls short of many of his other works. Often it seems thrown together in an ungainly way and limited by its polemical or inspirational intent.

Although Harrington is probably right in describing Americans as moving politically to the left, right and center at the same time, he does not face up to the great success of the right nor discuss realistically how the agenda that *should* be debated in the '80s (that is, most of the issues that he raises) actually *can* become the questions of the decade.

Likewise, good as he may be in fencing with conservative polemicists, he often seems to oversimplify and miss nuances in an effort to press a point. Oligopolistic pricing, for example, is a major contributor to inflation, but not the only explanation for stagflation. And even though unions may not cause inflation—in the sense that Chamber of Commerce types insist—they do contribute to an inflationary spiral by virtue of their efforts to put a floor under real wages. We might agree that such an effort by the unions is legitimate, but it can't be ignored in an analysis of stagflation. Occasionally, Harrington is overzealous, chiding oil companies both for making us dependent on overseas oil through their government-aided foreign expansion in the 1950s and '60s, and for keeping the cheap imported oil out of the domestic market in the '60s.

Yet as a guide to what is—or should be—the issues of the decade, Harrington's latest work provides useful factual and intellectual signposts through the thicket of widely disseminated arguments of corporate apologists. As he discusses specific policy matters, he never strays far from the central issue of control over investment, by whom and for what. ■

Lights

Ernesto Cardenal, the new minister of culture in Nicaragua, is an internationally known poet and priest. A former student of the poet-monk Thomas Merton, Cardenal founded Solentinamo, a Christian commune of peasant and Indian artists on an island in Lake Nicaragua that became a center of resistance to the Somoza regime and was largely destroyed during the revolution.

Cardenal's poem about the Sandinista victory last summer is published in a collection, *ZERO HOUR AND OTHER DOCUMENTARY POEMS*, ed. Donald D. Walsh, introduction by Robert Pring-Hill, translated by Jonathan Cohen (New Directions, October 1980).

That top-secret flight at night.
We might have been shot down. The night calm and clear.
The sky teeming, swarming with stars. The Milky Way
so bright behind the thick pane of the window,
a sparkling white mass in the black night
with its millions of evolutionary and revolutionary changes.
We were going over the water to avoid Somoza's air force,
but close to the coast.
The small plane flying low, and flying slowly.
First the lights of Rivas, taken and retaken by Sandinists,
now almost in Sandinist hands.
Then other lights: Granada, in the hands of the Guard
(it would be attacked that night).
Masaya, completely liberated. So many fell there.
Farther out a bright glow: Managua. Site of so many battles.
(The Bunker.) Still the stronghold of the Guard.
Diriamba, liberated. Jinotepe, fighting it out. So much heroism
glitters in those lights. Montelimar—the pilot shows us—
the tyrant's estate near the sea. Puerto Somoza, next to it.
The Milky Way above, and the lights of Nicaragua's revolution.
Out there, in the north, I think I see Sandino's campfire.
("That light is Sandino.")
The stars above us, and the smallness of this land
but also its importance, these
tiny lights of men. I think: everything is light.
The planet comes from the sun. It is light turned solid.

This plane's electricity is light. Its metal is light. The warmth
of life comes from the sun.

"Let there be light."

There is also darkness.

There are strange reflections—I don't know where they come
from—on the clear surface of the windows.

A red glow: the tail lights of the plane.

And reflections on the calm sea: they must be stars.

I look at the light from my cigarette—it also comes from
the sun, from a star.

And the outline of a great ship. The U.S. aircraft carrier
sent to patrol the Pacific coast?

A big light on our right startles us. A jet attacking?

No. The moon coming out, a half moon, so peaceful, lit by the sun.

The danger of flying on such a clear night.

And suddenly the radio. Jumbled words filling the small plane.

The Guard? The pilot says: "It's our side."

They're on our wave lengths.

Now we're close to Leon, the territory liberated.

A burning reddish-orange light, like the red-hot tip of a cigar:

Corinto:

the powerful lights of the docks flickering on the sea.

And now at last the beach of Poneloya, and the plane coming in
to land,

the string of foam along the coast gleaming in the moonlight.

The plane coming down. A smell of insecticide.

And Sergio tells me: "The smell of Nicaragua!"

It's the most dangerous moment, enemy aircraft
may be waiting for us over this airport.

And the airport lights at last.

We've landed. From out of the dark come our olive-green-clad comrades
to greet us with hugs.

We feel their warm bodies, that also come from the sun,
that also are light.

This revolution is fighting the darkness.

It was daybreak on July 18th. And the beginning
of all that was about to come.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Steps to an ecology of Gregory Bateson

By Terence Turner

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE social sciences in the last half century has presented an increasingly paradoxical picture. The more research data has been accumulated, the more the ultimate object of study, the human totality, seems to recede. At the same time, new disciplines like cybernetics, systems theory and more sophisticated biological notions of genetics and evolution have held out the possibility of reconceptualizing personality, society and culture as parts of a larger whole.

Most of these new models have been developed in the natural sciences, and adapting them usefully to the social sciences has proved beyond the capacities of most who have attempted it. Gregory Bateson was the exception. Up to his death in San Francisco on July 4 at the age of 76, he had been by turns biologist, anthropologist, psychologist, psychotherapist, ethologist (studying octopus and dolphin communication), amateur philosopher, applied system theorist, social and political commentator and educator (as professor and regent of the University of California). Finally, he was the ambivalent guru of a growing cult, composed of an unlikely mixture of ecological activists, religious mystics, Laingian anti-psychiatrists, family therapists and even Jerry Brown, who appointed him to the Board of Regents.

Bateson's work focused on a small number of ideas drawn from evolutionary biology, genetics and the logical philosophy of Bertrand Russell. These were almost all derived from his associations with Cambridge University (England), where he grew up as the son of a famous professor of genetics, and where he took his B.A. (in biology) and, in the mid-'30s, his Ph.D. (in anthropology). In the late '30s his marriage to the American anthropologist Margaret Mead brought him into contact with psychology and psychoanalysis, and incidentally to this country, of which he remained a permanent resident even after their divorce in 1950. In the '40s he encountered the last of his major formative influences—information theory and cybernetics. These provided a formal and mathematical framework and confirmation for his old Cambridge ideas.

The most important idea around which Bateson's perspective was built was Russell's theory of "logical types." This argued that logical relations form a hierarchy. A member of a class constitutes one level or "type" of relation, the class itself another, a class of classes another, and so on. Bateson's most important insight was that most biological and human systems are organized as hierarchies of "types" of relations. Many forms of social conflict and psychological disorder could be understood as "mistakes" of logical typing, as when the token or symbol of an idea or entity is taken for that entity itself.

Bateson observed that in psychological learning experiments not one but two distinct "types" of learning go on. The first is the learning of the task. Bateson pointed out, however, that the subjects also learn how to learn (thus usually spoiling themselves as subjects for future experiments).

He later developed this notion of multi-leveled learning into his famous "double bind" theory of schizophrenia. Schizophrenics, he suggested, are the products

of families in which the parents regularly send contradictory messages of different levels or "types" to their children. A schizogenic mother, for example, might lovingly caress her child and at the same time lash out at it for being too dependent on her. The two different levels of the message contradict each other, so that neither can be trusted. Children regularly submitted to this sort of communication, Bateson theorized, grow up unable to sort reality into distinct levels or consistent "types" of relations. Relations with others, and reality in general, become "no-win" situations to which the only possible response is withdrawal into inner chaos—schizophrenia.

Bateson also applied his theory of logical types to cultural data. A Balinese painting may represent a typical scene from village life, but at another, higher level, communicate by its uniform attention to the details of landscape, animals, houses and people the Balinese view of reality, composed of equal and mutually autonomous parts, none more important than the others.

Bateson perceived that the same formal principles could be applied to problems that seem completely unrelated. He was, in this sense, closely akin to the formalist tendency of modern thought that has come to be called "structuralism." Unlike most structuralists, however, he always saw structure as emerging from the dynamics of interaction. Form, for Bateson, always emerges from function, and vice versa. Bateson's close affinity with structuralist thought appears clearly in his principle that the fundamental components of all biological and cultural structures are *differences* (that is, not individual properties or things in themselves but the contrasting relations between them).

There are also strong resemblances between Bateson's thought and dialectical thinking. All important biological and cultural phenomena, he held, are organized as systems of circular causality, with multiple and interlocking "feed-back loops," so that each part of the system could only be explained as a product of its relations with the other parts. He sharply contrasted his views on this point, however, to the vulgar materialism he identified as Marxism, by emphasizing that the relation between successive levels of the hierarchy of types was always representational rather than simply reflective in character. Higher "types," "forms" or "maps," in other words, always emerge from the interaction of some copying entity with the lower-"type" relations comprising the material content of the forms. The higher type expresses the purposes of the copying entity as well as the properties of what is copied.

Parts and wholes.

His first, and in many ways most brilliant and original book, *Naven* (1936), was an anthropological study of a New Guinea tribe. He analyzed aspects of the tribal society as systems in which different types of tendencies toward conflict were held in check by mechanisms for playing one off against the other.

Throughout his work, Bateson emphasized the relationship between wholes and their parts, and conceived it in dynamic and historical terms. He pointed out that there is a general tendency for processes like biological evolution, the history of human societies and individual psycho-

Gregory Bateson with Margaret Mead

logical development to involve opposing processes. One (the conservative tendency) strives to preserve and reproduce the existing system as a whole (e.g., genetic coding and embryology), while the other (the radical tendency) consists of the struggle to adapt each part of the system to changing circumstances. Bateson conceived this double process as a dialectic between higher and lower logical types of organization, the higher being the system's own "copy" of its structure (e.g., its genetic make-up). The radical tendencies, although of lower logical type, in the long run force change at the higher level. As instances of catastrophic processes within this framework, Bateson produced analyses of arms races, addiction and alcoholism.

Other aspects of Bateson's work are harder to pin down. One, derived like most of the others from the Cambridge intellectual atmosphere, was a characteristically British variety of sceptical empiricism. It made him reluctant to go in for systematic theory building even in his field of primary concern, the theory of systems. Another was gentlemanly amateurism, deeply infused in his class subculture, in which enthusiasm for ideas is combined with a reluctance to become too deeply involved in producing them. Finally, there was Bateson's natural shyness and humility. An intensely private and courteous person, he was diffident to a fault about pushing his ideas on others. He avoided serious engagement with other thinkers or theoretical systems close enough to his own to make dialogue potentially fruitful—and competitive. (Above all, Jean Piaget comes to mind.)

Bateson always worked directly from general principles to examples, finessing the hard analytical work that would connect one to the other. He therefore relied heavily on metaphor and analogy to work out his ideas, and he seldom developed or modified his original ideas. These aspects of Bateson's work account for much of the scepticism and indifference to his ideas on the part of many professionals in the fields in which he worked. His preference for remaining at the highest levels of abstraction, and his

reluctance to come to grips with the middle-range analytical problems, led many professional practitioners to dismiss him as superficial, irrelevant or both.

There is some justification for these criticisms. But Bateson was usually saying things that were not being said by anybody else. Further, there is, both in the social sciences and in most kinds of orthodox psychotherapy, a deep-lying and pervasive antipathy to the thinking Bateson stood for. He assailed all forms of positivism and reductionism; his thought was dynamic and dialectical (even though he scrupulously avoided the latter term).

Offsetting these disappointing professional reactions was the surprising popular vogue Bateson's work began to enjoy in the last dozen years of his life. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, a collection of his essays published in 1972, became an underground success. As a professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and then also as Regent, he became a sort of elder statesman of ecological consciousness. Much of his popular following predictably embarrassed him by merely using his ideas to legitimize their own received notions. There were, however, also many people who found in Bateson's ideas a revealing critique of basic assumptions of conventional social science, politics, economics and culture.

His work—often practical statements on educational, environmental or arms-race issues—gave theoretical structure and social and political focus to the diffuse backwash of '60s consciousness that still eddies along the California coast and in academic communities across the nation.

For all his limitations, Gregory Bateson performed a vital role as a carrier of ideas whose importance has still only barely begun to be grasped. It is a testimony to the uniqueness of his vision, as well as to the intellectual sclerosis of the social science establishment, that his work is still the primary, and in most of his chosen fields virtually the sole reference for the ideas he championed. ■

Terence Turner is an anthropology professor at the University of Chicago.



C.H. Waddington

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



VISUAL ARTS

The return of the mural

By Jennifer Benepe

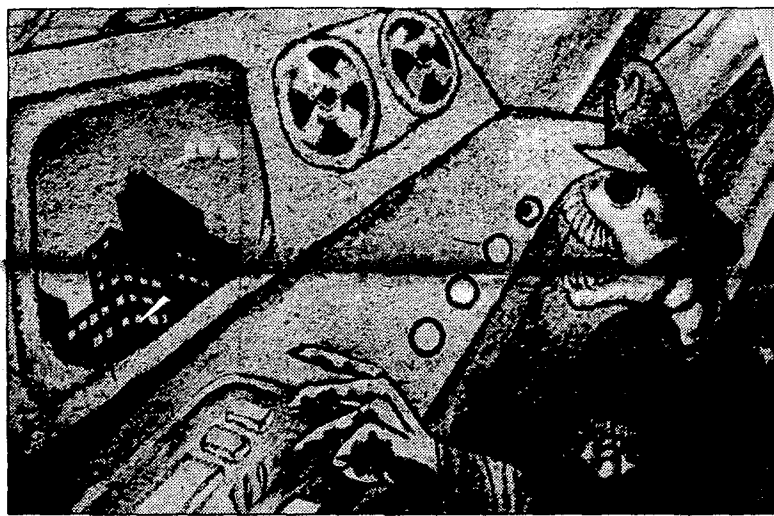
It is a Sunday afternoon in Chicago, and the sun beats on a white wall soon to be transformed by muralists into a statement against the ominous machinery of a World War III. The anti-war mural will be painted over a 10-day period in a thematic filmstrip across a railroad viaduct in a near-west Chicago neighborhood.

Described by Cindy Weiss of the Chicago Muralists' Group as a "no-man's land," the vicinity of the wall is one of the city's largest decaying industrial areas. A lone hamburger and hotdog luncheonette and grassy lots are the nearest signs of life.

The mural event is the brain-storm of John Weber and William Walker. The CMG and Casa Aztlan, a Chicano muralist group, are collaborating. In addition to providing a collective expression, the event commemorates the 1968 anti-war demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Chicago and the National Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles that claimed three lives (*In These Times*, Sept. 10).

The site is atypical for the painting of a Chicago mural, because it is not within a cohesive neighborhood. Since the inception of the Chicago muralist movement in the early '70s, muralists have depended on the communities for support and cooperation in the financing of a mural, and have collaborated on the choice of themes and statements.

The seeds of nationalist and ethnic expression in mural painting sparked and exploded with the completion of the "Wall of Respect," a project initiated by William Walker and other South-side Chicago artists and residents in 1968. The mural became a rallying point for black nationalist feeling and brought community outrage when it mysteriously burned down. Several Chicago groups, including CMG, Casa Aztlan and the Public Arts Workshop, have used community organizing and nationalist



themes as the backbone of their murals.

This anti-war mural is an attempt to revitalize the same youthful and liberal enthusiasm that spawned the "Wall of Respect." But it is also a recognition of the complex political and technological factors that characterize this era—of high unemployment, corporate power, an

endless energy crunch and a less politically-active citizenry.

The site is also typical for mural-painting, however, because it is in an area trafficked only by blue-collar and working-class people on their way to work by foot or by car. And although the artists say the working-class factory worker is precisely the person they want to

reach, the isolation of the site may not attract wide recognition.

Arguments.

Now on Sunday the streets are deserted. A stormy discussion over the mural has already begun. Jose gestures to the empty street and asks, "Why do they have to paint it here? Because it's free?" There is some disagreement between him and his friends on whether this mural will serve a purpose. A pedlar walks by and tries to sell Jose a watch and a fake diamond ring from a wrinkled paper bag. Jose wants to know if the pedlar's "political consciousness" has been in any way altered by the mural. He believes that this mural, like so many others in

The question of political and social impact has always been a sore point for artists who want to move mountains. For this event the stakes are high, the purpose an expression of peace on the part of the public—especially the working class, the draftable class.

Most of the artists attending the event have full-time jobs as factory workers, librarians and clerks, and paint after work or on the weekends. Among them, Rich Capalbo, a crane operator, brings his children to help him paint. His mural shows three men dressed in military olive pointing their rifles at a tiny unemployment building and a schoolhouse.

A mural being painted by Aurelio Diaz depicts four men marching squarely forward, placards balanced on their shoulders. One reads, "Stop World War III" in both Spanish and English. "It is the first recognition of the threat of nuclear power in the Mexican community," explains Carlos Cumpian, an attending artist. "The working class is just beginning to raise the issue," he adds, "an issue that has been, up to now, only a middle-class issue."

A third mural shows two skeletons with *cavaleras* (or skulled heads), dressed in the military garb of the USSR and U.S., sitting at their MX missile control boards and pushing buttons with their boney fingers. Above, two UN officials flanked by the UN world-sphere-and-laurels symbol are being drenched in red paint poured on them by dissidents from above. Grey MX missiles shooting from the center create the final chaos of militarism.

These murals, and the many others being painted strip-like across the viaduct, are heavy in political imagery. For the workers who pass by in their 1978 Dodge Darts, the subject matter may be a simple challenge to recognition, or it may elicit response, even action.

In the meantime, Jose's unrelenting manner has gotten four people involved in a debate over the impact of this anti-war mural. Only in its second day, already the mural has called attention to itself by the stark contrast of vivid and colorful images of fear, war and the threat of destruction against the grey background of this no-man's land. ■ Jennifer Benepe is a Chicago writer.



Chicago, will go largely unnoticed, and thus become another "wasted" vestige of human emotion.

"What do you think it means?" Jose asks the pedlar. Uncertain, the man queries, "More jobs?" "Is that all?" Jose asks. "Come on, look at it, tell me what you really think," he insists. "No more nuclear plants," the pedlar says. And then, with more sureness he adds, "It's about the Bible—that man is about to destroy himself—and that the world was planned that way."

The mural event "is an opportunity to awaken and influence public action," said a spokesperson for the CMG, "and if it is done in a powerful way, even if it hasn't brought action, it will have served its purpose."

CALENDAR

MADISON, WI

September 26-27

Come to the FIRST DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE MIDWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE. Workplace, campus and community activities will gather to participate in workshops on labor, the women's movement, the draft and more. A regional structure will be created to build a socialist presence in Middle America. Free housing is available. Registration \$12 (\$6 unemployed and low income). Contact DSOC, Box 517, 800 Langdon St., Madison, WI 53706 or call (608)249-6054, 241-4316, 251-5972.

ANN ARBOR, MI

September 26-27

The FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WORKERS CULTURE. Workers, union officials, scholars and artists will discuss what workers' culture is, demonstrate historical and current examples in various media and suggest directions for the future. Participants will include Brendan

Sexton, Paul Buhle, Ralph Fasanella, Stanley Aronowitz, Archie Green, Sarah Ogan Gunning, Joyce Kornbluth and Carlos Arce. For more information call (313)764-6395.

CHIPPEWA FALLS, WI

September 26-28

THE CITIZENS PARTY OF WISCONSIN 1st STATE CONVENTION will be held at the Farmers' Union's Kamp Kenwood. The purpose of this convention is to lay the foundation for a new grassroots, broad-based, political movement that will build economic democracy in Wisconsin. Workshops on issues ranging from runaway shops, labor and politics, uranium mining, economic crisis, solar energy, racism and repression, democratic-socialist-feminism, and regional corporate power. Speakers include: Tom O'Connell, Eugene Havens, Al Gedicks, Roger Bybee, Anne Gordon, Gary Edelman, Monte Bute, Marilyn Clement, George Daltsman, Art Heitzer, Rob Kennedy, Ian Harris and Mary Radke. Also, organizing for Commoner-Harris campaign, literature, political music, food, lodging, childcare and films. Cost: \$15.00. For information call Madison (608)257-

7068; Milwaukee (414)444-4744; Stevens Points (715)341-8257; Menomonie (715)265-7148. To pre-register call special registration telephone number at (608)785-2043 anytime. Call before Sept. 24. Help us build a new progressive movement.

CHICAGO, IL

September 29

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT'S SECOND CITY SOCIALIST SCHOOL begins its fall semester of courses. Courses include Basic Marxism, Religion and Socialism, Socialist Feminism, Political Economy of Chicago and Motherhood. Call 871-7700 for more information.

CHICAGO, IL

October 2-December 11

SOCIALIST-FEMINIST STUDY & WORK GROUP. Blazing Star NAM invites women to join us in discussing socialist feminism and in working to pressure the media to present more positive images of women and lesbians. Initial session features presentation on socialist-feminism by ITT columnist Roberta Lynch at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 2, at 3342 N. Broadway. For more info leave message for

Hannah at 924-5057.

PITTSBURGH, PA

October 10-12

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Sponsored by 6 AFL-CIO Unions—the Machinists, Chemical Workers, Graphic Arts, Service Employees, Woodworkers and Furniture Workers—as well as the UAW, Mineworkers, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, this conference will seek to educate and activate the trade union movement in the struggle for safe energy and full employment. \$15 Registration. Any trade unionist welcome. Contact: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202)265-7190.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.